NOVEMBER 16
1943

NEW MASSES

15¢
In Can.
20¢

BEHIND THE ELECTION RETURNS

by the Editors

REUNION IN MOSCOW

An analysis of the conference by JOHN STUART

with a London report by CLAUDE COCKBURN

WHY I BECAME A COMMUNIST

A Negro educator's saga. By Doxey Wilkerson

FINNISH FIASCO

by Otto Kuusinen

THEY KNIFE THEIR COUNTRY *by Richard O. Boyer*

THE PEOPLE, ALWAYS *by Howard Fast*

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

THIS department, as well as several other regular features of the magazine had to give up its quarters last week to make room for the material in our special "Twenty-six Years of the USSR" issue. We therefore had no opportunity to inform you that John Stuart, foreign editor of NM, was responsible for collecting and editing the material. Sentiment of the readers about that special issue is best expressed by William M. Patterson, one of the directors of the Abraham Lincoln School of Chicago. We quote in part from his letter to NM. "Every reader of the special issue of NEW MASSES must be more than delighted with this number which shows the political, economic, and cultural greatness of our splendid ally. . . . To all those who in an incredulous voice ask 'Whence comes the physical and moral strength of these people?' your special issue gives a complete answer. . . . For myself I should like to see copies in which that splendid article, 'House of All Nations,' by Rev. Ben Richardson, is marked, sent to hundreds of leading Negro citizens of our country. . . . I should like too to see a copy of this article sent to every section of the Negro press, and in particular to the *Negro Digest*. . . ."

We shall act, of course, on the last part of this letter and try to reach as many of these people as possible. And if you know of anyone who is not yet in possession of the political facts of life, even at this late date, suggest that you help the distribution along by passing on your copy to that person. If you do not want to give up your copy, you can always secure one by writing NM's circulation department.

SPEAKING of culture, as was Mr. Patterson a couple of paragraphs above, we need hardly point out that the one of the most significant cultural events of our day, here in America, is the triumph of that great citizen and artist, Paul Robeson, as Othello. We take pride, of course, in the fact that Paul Robeson is one of our contributing editors. Samuel Sillen's piece on Ira Aldridge as Othello and his review of the Margaret Webster production in New York have attracted wide favorable attention. College students have been calling in for background material. Several drama critics want to know if Ira Aldridge ever wrote a comparison of the American and English stages. One national magazine asked who played the first Desdemona to Aldridge's Othello.

NEW MASSES has always been quite active in extra-curricular activities, and this fall we had numerous requests for reviving our popular "Interpretation, Please." To satisfy our friends' clamor "Interpretation Please," will be held Friday, November 26 at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th Street, on the subject, "The War and the Fate of Nations." The panel of experts will include Demetrios Christophorides, editor of the *Greek-American Tribune*, James Allen, foreign editor of the *Daily Worker*, Prof. A. Donini, formerly of the University of Rome, Bogdan Raditsa, former press chief for all Yugoslav groups in America, John Stuart of NM, and one of two others. The discussion, as many of you will recall from past performances, takes place informally around a table, and is based on questions sent up by the audience at the beginning of the meeting. As usual there will be a free half year subscription for all those whose questions are used. See the ad on page 31—for additional details.

Seven Weeks to Go

SEVEN weeks are left in the campaign to add 5,000 new subscribers to NM by January 1. In October 1,094 new subs were received. This is a forty-five percent increase over the September total of 751. Good—but not good enough. If we are to reach our goal, 3,155 subs must be obtained in November and December.

Can we do it? Frankly we don't know. The answer is up to you, up to every NM reader. Have you gotten at least one new sub? Do you plan to get one? If every reader answered yes, we would go several times over the figure we've set. Thus far only a small proportion of NM readers have done so. Yet we **know** we have the most devoted, most enthusiastic, most self-sacrificing group of readers of any magazine in the country. We know it because otherwise the miracle of **New Masses** wouldn't be possible—of a magazine appearing regularly every week for nearly ten years without subsidies, without angels, without large advertisers. Commercial publishers say it can't be done. But you—our thousands of readers and supporters—did it.

Now we ask you to do something much easier. Every new sub means for NM an assured income for the year which, if multiplied many times, will make it possible greatly to reduce the sum required in our annual financial drive, or even to eliminate the drive entirely. For the person who does the subscribing—just think what it means. Fifty-two weeks of enlightenment and inspiration, of anti-fascist clarity and stimulating discussion of books, plays, films—fifty-two weeks of the magazine which such men as Prof. Clyde Miller of Columbia University, Upton Sinclair, Paul Robeson, Rev. Eliot White, Earl Browder, John Howard Lawson, and Lewis Merrill have singled out as indispensable reading matter for all informed Americans. There isn't much time left. If you haven't already corraled that new sub, won't you do it right away, within the next week?

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BEHIND THE ELECTION RETURNS

By the Editors

THE election results are sobering, but they are considerably short of the crack of doom. The trend toward the Republican Party, which began in 1938, continued, but this trend is by no means as uniform as the comments of Republican soothsayers would have us believe. And it is definitely not an anti-Roosevelt trend, despite the wishful pronouncements of such diverse personalities as Wendell Willkie, Harrison Spangler, Governor Bricker, Hamilton Fish, and James A. Farley. Certainly it is difficult to draw sweeping conclusions about an election in which only two governors were chosen and the mayors of only four major American cities, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, and San Francisco—the last two on a non-partisan basis. And when the Republican New York *Herald Tribune* in an editorial announces gleefully that "from Hartford, Conn., to Frankfort, Ky., there is a unanimity of outlook which the most intense partisan of the administration cannot miss," it speaks more out of fidelity to party than to fact. For one need go no farther than Connecticut to discover that while in Hartford the Republicans ousted the Democrats, in New Haven and Waterbury Democratic mayors were reelected, in the former for the seventh consecutive time.

On a statewide scale the Republicans scored in Kentucky, New Jersey, and New York. In Kentucky, where a Republican won the governorship by a few thousand votes, the Lewis-instigated coal strike (the Lewis machine backed the Republicans) probably produced the difference between victory and defeat.

In New York and New Jersey the outcome had been expected. In the latter the factional feud between Mayor Hague and Governor Edison doomed the gubernatorial candidacy of Mayor Vincent Murphy of Newark despite the support he received from all wings of the labor movement. The results in New York, where Sen. Joe R. Hanley was elected lieutenant governor, are, as in 1942, largely a memorial to the leadership of Jim Farley, Democratic state chairman. For weeks preceding the election it was common knowledge in political circles that the state machine and the Tammany clubs were merely going through the motions of campaigning for Lieutenant General Haskell, Democratic-American Labor Party candidate, who was endorsed by President Roosevelt. In fact, only the ALP Progressives and the CIO waged a vigorous fight for Haskell's election.

The Detroit election was in a class by itself. Here in the center of American war industry, at a time when the Nazis and the Japanese are being driven back on all fronts, the Axis won an important victory. Let fascist Gerald L. K. Smith tell the story. In a statement which he was thoughtful enough to send to NEW MASSES Smith said: "My followers almost without exception supported Mayor Jeffries for reelection. . . . No one can deny that Fitz-Gerald was the labor-Negro candidate. He was financed and endorsed by the AFL political bosses and the CIO political bosses. . . . The Detroit vote for Jeffries was strictly a reactionary vote. . . ." The shame of Detroit's hate election points up the warning sounded by Richard O. Boyer in his column on page 17.

THE election picture is, however, not without its bright spots. The press, with the exception of the *Daily Worker*, ignored or buried the astonishing results in Cleveland. Mayor Frank J. Lausche, running for reelection as the candidate of a pro-Roosevelt, win-the-war coalition, swamped his Republican opponent by a vote of 112,864 to 45,955, sweeping into office with him the first Democratic-controlled city council in three decades. It is significant that Mayor Lausche campaigned "on my record as a war leader," and he made unity behind the war effort the principal issue.

Nor can the results in Philadelphia be regarded as a progressive setback. There the international anti-Soviet intriguer and Munich-eer, William C. Bullitt, went down to defeat by the largest plurality since 1931. Though his Republican opponent, Mayor Bernard Samuel, is no less reactionary, the clipping of Bullitt's wings was all-important.

Of national significance was the showing of the American Labor Party in New York and of the Communist Party in a number of cities, particularly New York, Cleveland, and San Francisco. In New York City, where only the Bronx organization still remains in the hands of the party's right wing, the ALP vote accounted for 19.4 percent of the total and was the highest proportionate vote since the 1937 mayoralty election. And in the Bronx, Michael J. Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, after being refused the ALP designation ran for the city council as an independent and received the highest number of first-choice votes, easily winning election. Gertrude Weill Klein, Laborite incumbent, was also returned, giving labor two out of the three Bronx councilmen.

As we go to press, the counting of the proportional representation ballots in the other boroughs has not yet been completed, but the phenomenal showing of the two Communist candidates, Councilman Peter V. Cacchione of Brooklyn, and Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Manhattan Negro leader, has bowled over the political wiseacres. With the counting of first-choice ballots completed in Brooklyn, Cacchione leads the field of nine candidates with a total of 52,881. He is certain of election. In Manhattan both Davis and Eugene P. Connolly, ALP candidate, are running strong, and either one has a good chance of winning the fourth seat from that borough. The reelection of another outstanding progressive, Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs, seems assured.

In Cleveland Arnold Johnson, state secretary of the Communist Party, received the unprecedented vote of 47,335 as candidate for the Board of Education. With three to be elected, he came in fifth, actually polling a larger vote than the Republican candidate for mayor! In San Francisco Oleta O'Connor Yates, Communist candidate for the Board of Supervisors, polled about 40,000 votes, a thirty-three percent increase over the previous Communist high.

WHAT do the elections add up to? We do not agree with Walter Lippmann that elections change nothing except men, that Roosevelt was a mere continuation of Hoover, that it is all a matter of Tweedledum and Tweedledee, and that this constitutes "a true working democracy." According to Mr. Lippmann, the Republicans are going to win in 1944 (are they?) "because the appointed time for a change has arrived, and for no other reason." This is like saying that a man is ill because his temperature is above normal. There have been times when the two parties have been Tweedledum and Tweedledee and there are today Republicans and Democrats who are like peas in a pod (Nye and Wheeler for example). But to ignore the dynamic world forces that are cleaving through our two-party system—forces that have been given a new impact by the war and the issues at stake in the war—is to view the domestic scene with incredibly unperceptive eyes. It is hardly what one has come to expect from the author of *US Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic*.

Great national and international issues will be in the balance in the 1944 elections and the outcome will be determined by many factors which cannot at present be predicted. Because local issues dominated the present election from the very nature of the offices that were contested, it would be foolhardy to draw conclusions about 1944. Yet no less foolhardy would it be to overlook the fact that dissatisfactions which

(*Continued on page* 12)

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Food Subsidies

THE case for food subsidies is so unassailable that it is only ignorance of the essential facts on the part of large sections of the public that makes it possible for farm bloc-ers and defeatists to get away with murderous sabotage on this crucial issue. President Roosevelt has helped clear the synthetic mists enveloping this question with a message to Congress stating the facts and giving a comprehensive picture of our achievements and tasks in the production and distribution of food and the control of its price. One wishes the message were much shorter so that more people might read it. And one wishes too that somehow these facts might be presented over the radio and on the screen so that millions might possess them.

Readers of NEW MASSES, of course, need no convincing that if food production is to be stimulated through adequate prices to the farmers, and if at the same time prices to the consumers are to be kept down or rolled back, there will be cases where the only way these two objectives can be achieved is for the government to provide a subsidy at some stage in the distribution process. Whether this subsidy takes the form of direct payments to farmers or processors, or absorption by the government of part of transportation costs, or government purchase of a crop at the farmer's price and resale at a loss, the principle is the same. The investment involved in a subsidy program—in 1943 only $800,000,000, undoubtedly an inadequate sum—is infinitesimal compared to the dividends in terms of a stabilized economy, increased production of one of the major munitions of war—food—and heightened national morale. As Mr. Roosevelt pointed out, the subsidy program "is an essential part of winning the war. The subsidies that are used cannot properly be called producer subsidies or consumer subsidies. They are war subsidies."

The President's message is a challenge to the action of the House Banking and Currency Committee in inserting in a bill extending the life of the Commodity Credit Corporation a provision ending all existing subsidies after January 1 and banning all new ones with minor exceptions. The message has evoked the usual growls from the farm bloc crowd, but as Rep. Wright Patman, a leader of the fight to save the subsidy program, put it: "Under the guise of fighting the President on domestic issues, many people—some in public life—are operating in open rebellion against our government in this total war." It will take the efforts of the plain people of America to put this rebellion down.

H.R.7

SOMETHING is happening to the anti-poll tax bill, something that has an ugly look. H.R. 7, the Marcantonio anti-poll tax bill, was passed by the House in May by the decisive vote of 265 to 110. The Senate Judiciary Committee thereupon put the bill in cold storage till the end of September. The committee then voted to hold hearings on the constitutional aspects of the bill, though that ground had been thoroughly ploughed by the same committee in 1942. The hearings were set for October 25 and the promise made that they would be brief. On that date, after listening to Joseph A. Padway, AFL counsel, Lee Pressman, CIO counsel, and Rep. William L. Dawson, Negro congressman from Chicago, demonstrate the constitutionality of H.R. 7, the committee announced it had no more time and would complete the hearings the following week with testimony from spokesmen for the opposition. The next week a solitary witness showed up, the aged lawyer and historian, Charles Warren, who argued that the poll tax was "unjust" but nevertheless, it was unconstitutional for the federal government to do anything about it. Another moratorium was then called before the committee takes up the bill.

These slow-motion tactics are designed to pave the way for a move by the Senatorial poll-taxers to get Congress to adjourn on or about November 15, not to reconvene till January. And of course, by January they will have figured out some new ways of slowly strangling the measure which would give the vote and a higher war morale to 10,000,000 black and white Americans. And the appalling part of this story is that so far, though this game is common knowledge, not a single senator, on or off the Judiciary Committee, has lifted his voice to protest. Will the people of America, who are shedding their blood and enduring hardships for that very democracy which H.R. 7 represents, also remain silent?

The CIO Convenes

THE Congress of Industrial Organizations—the vanguard of the American trade union movement—faced the problems of the anti-fascist war last week at its convention in Philadelphia, and faced them with courage. Next week's issue will carry an article on the convention by our Washington editor, Bruce Minton, who covered it for NEW MASSES. Meanwhile, we may report that the news from the labor front is heartening: at the CIO convention, America's industrial workers soberly sidestepped the provocations of a labor-baiting Congress to make their plans for playing a more decisive role in the war councils of the country. The CIO had the wisdom to put the defeat of the nation's enemies above any attempt of native reactionaries to split working class opinion and, under the cloak of the war effort, to rub salt into labor's wounds. The CIO knows its enemies at home as well as across the oceans.

No previous labor convention spoke so unitedly and with such broad perspective as the Philadelphia assembly, with its discussions and resultant resolutions against anti-Semitism, Jim Crow, and all discrimination; no other section of the American working class stressed with such insistence its profound belief in international labor unity. With all this, the most significant step taken by the convention was the adoption of a hard-headed, practical program for political action, presented by Sidney Hillman and emphasized by the CIO's president, Philip Murray. The CIO has entered the political arena realistically—a responsibility the union movement has dodged for decades—and will make its immense weight felt in American political life, giving new scope and meaning to unionism in this country.

Italian Currents

IT IS fortunate that Marshal Pietro Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel are at this stage but transitional figures on the Italian scene. For both are reactionaries, both have bad records, and neither can possibly become a leader of a new Italian democracy. Badoglio is politically all over the map. One week he warns against the Communist menace, the next he pledges himself to the

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formation of a government representing the national front and including the Communists. One day he declares his undying loyalty to Victor Emmanuel, the next he lets it be known that he would be willing to become head of a regency in the name of the King's grandson, the Prince of Naples. The King meanwhile clings to the throne which is being shaken from under him.

But these relics of the past are no longer important in Italy. Initiative and the power of decision have been taken from them and sooner or later they will surely become immersed in the rising tide of a people's movement. Two things within Italy are decisive: the steady Anglo-American military advance against Hitler's armies and the growing prominence of the Committee of National Liberation and its supporters. The latter, now a six-party coalition (Liberals, Labor Democrats, Christian Democrats, Socialists, Communists, and Actionists), represents the nation's anti-fascist forces. They have achieved unity of purpose and action. They speak for the people and they will become the body of any new government that takes over. Count Carlo Sforza, now in Naples, has associated himself with the national front's aspirations. Senator Benedetto Croce, whom the newspaper correspondents are heralding as Italy's elder statesman, is working closely with Sforza and appears to understand the necessity of wiping out all remnants of fascism.

THERE is delay, however, in the mobilization of the Italian people in the political and military struggle against Hitlerism and that delay seems to be the fault of an overcautious, hesitant Anglo-American leadership. Reports suggest that the Allied Military Mission and AMG don't want to make any political move, like forcing the King to abdicate, until Rome has been captured. If true, that will simply mean that it will take longer to capture Rome and that it will cost more American and British lives to do so. It will also mean that those fascists remaining in administrative posts in Sicily and in occupied Italy will have more time to entrench themselves under the new conditions. These are certainly unnecessary obstacles to create for ourselves and for the anti-fascist forces of Italy. The risks of a more rapid unfolding of the Italian political scene are far smaller than those inherent in delay. What is therefore urgently needed is for AMG and the military authorities to grant speedy recognition to the six-party coalition by bringing them immediately into a provisional government. In the words of the Anglo-American-Soviet declaration at Moscow, "it is essential that the (present) Italian government should be made more democratic by inclusion of representatives of those sections of the Italian people who have always opposed fascism." Only in this way will the Italian people and their soldiers become effectively mobilized in support of our military effort.

"Neutral" Franco

FASCIST Franco has chosen this particularly unfavorable season for the Axis to extend congratulations and well wishes for the future to the Japanese puppet regime in the Philippines headed by Jose Laurel and to conclude a trade agreement with the rump Italian "government" of Benito Mussolini. The goods shipped to Mussolini under the latter arrangement will, of all things, be credited against the Spanish debt to Fascist Italy—that debt incurred by Mussolini's generosity in invading republican Spain. Why, the commentators ponder, does Franco choose this particular time, when all over the world the Axis sees its doom, to make these gestures of abject loyalty to Hitler?

The answer lies inherent in the character of fascism and in the nature of appeasement. To expect Franco, or any fascist, to eschew the dictates of his doctrine is to stand by waiting for the leopard to change his spots. Franco's only hope today is to do everything possible to solidify his fascist clique within Spain and to develop his ties with the Axis and with Axis puppets abroad. Obviously this is what Hitler commands him to do.

Some striped-pants boys in the State Department, desiring above all else to save Spain from its own democratic people, have sought to wean Franco away from Hitler during these long, dreary years of appeasement. The policy has not only failed to achieve an inch of its purpose, but it has also vastly strengthened Hitler and lengthened the war. Our policy toward Franco Spain is in large part the explanation of why Franco today dares congratulate the Filipino puppet and open new commercial relations with the shadow of Mussolini's Italy.

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE Stettinius told the press that we are giving "serious consideration" to this latest insult. If this means that the State Department is changing its policy we welcome it. Merely a mild rebuke to Franco, however, will not mark the basic change that the present situation cries for. We should no longer delay breaking diplomatic relations and thus deepening the internal crisis in Spain. We can be certain that such a step, taken in conjunction with military measures to shorten the war, will produce results decisively favorable to the United Nations.

Our Bad Neighbor

FOLLOWING its initial error in hastily recognizing the Ramirez junta in Argentina the American government is increasingly showing signs of displeasure over our Bad Neighbor in Latin America. Secretary of State Hull's severe criticism in the famous letter to Foreign Secretary Storni, President Roosevelt's sharp words on Ramirez' anti-Semitism, and the recent freezing of the funds of two of Argentina's largest banks are effective as steps in isolating that country's government and in giving courage to the democratic masses within it. Yet the initial mistake was a grave one. It provided Ramirez and his gang of Nazis and semi-Nazis a chance to breathe when they might quickly have suffocated. It led to the second and third reprieve supplied by our traditional trade rival in Argentina, Great Britain, when two trade agreements, highly favorable to Argentina, were concluded. Ramirez had during his first three months both the prestige of diplomatic recognition and the tempting bait of economic prosperity with which to consolidate his regime and confuse his opposition. As in the parallel case of Spain's Franco, several toy statesmen in the State Department and their British cousins have discovered that appeasement is a very fine weapon—for the enemy.

The Ramirez regime is, however, by no means firmly entrenched. The people of Argentina have seen to that. They have unceasingly fought the new government, and, as we have recorded before in these columns, they have several times forced Ramirez into retreat. The democratic elements of Argentina, moreover, have broadcast to their democratic friends throughout the world appeals based upon knowledge of the conditions confronting them. There has been a response. The Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL) has labored unceasingly in aid of its members in Argentina. The organized workers and other progressive forces in neighboring countries, particularly in Uruguay and Chile, have made themselves the spokesmen for their brothers, who because of suppression or imprisonment could not make themselves heard. In the United States, there has been some, but not enough response to the appeal of the Argentine people. The Packinghouse Workers have gone on record supporting their fellow workers in the south. The Council for Pan-American Democracy is currently collecting signatures of prominent American leaders in support of those hundred and fifty Argentinians who publicly demanded a restoration of constitutional rights. Last week the

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CIO at its Philadelphia convention condemned "the Nazi policies of the Argentine government."

These actions, along with the recent moves of our government, suggest that the American people as a whole are beginning to appreciate the fact that the elimination of fascism in Argentina is an integral part of our war job. To be really effective, however, far more must be done from this side of the Rio Grande.

Max Reinhardt

MAX REINHARDT was one of the great figures of that European theater which flourished in the first three decades of our century and was engulfed in the Nazi wave of barbarism together with so many other landmarks of human culture. He was born in a small community near Vienna which at that time, 1873, was the metropolis of an Austro-Hungarian empire that, after suffering severe blows, was on the way to industrial development. Vienna was full of theaters and young Reinhardt early grew to love the world of the stage. It was as an actor at the Salzburg Theater that he was discovered by Brahm, one of Berlin's leading directors and producers. Brahm had been the champion of the naturalists—Gerhard Hauptmann, Johannes Schlaf, Hermann Sudermann.

But when Reinhardt, after coming to Berlin, turned from acting to directing, the new romantic tide was already rising in opposition to naturalism. Riding this wave, Reinhardt unfolded his talents as a magnificent *metteur-en-scene*, a discoverer of actors, an unsurpassed manager of stupendous spectacles. He captivated the Berlin public with his productions of Maeterlinck, Kleist, Hamsun, Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and adaptations of ancient Greek tragedies. And he discovered some of the best German-language actors: Basserman, Moissi, Pallenberg, Gertrud Eysoldt, Lucie Hoeflich, Tilla Durieux.

Reinhardt went to London, New York and Hollywood before the first world war and in the years after. But the romanticism of the early years of the twentieth century was already fading, and Reinhardt's productions, though they met with considerable success, failed to evoke the old magic. Politically he did not at first understand what was happening when the approaching clouds of fascism darkened the German horizon. Later he learned through bitter exile. His last years were spent in the United States where he did some directing in Hollywood and also presented several musical productions. Perhaps the best tribute to the cultural values that Reinhardt so brilliantly represented was contained in the death notice inserted in the press by his family: "Friends are expressly requested not to send flowers, and in lieu, if they so desire, contribute to any cause that will help to defeat Hitler."

Twenty-Six

FOR its glow and its warmth (despite an inept translation), for its meaningful summary of the state of the war, Marshal Stalin's anniversary speech will be greeted with joy wherever free men live. This was his third wartime address to coincide with the birthday of the October Revolution and in all three of them his pride in the Soviet peoples' achievements, their triumphs in the rear and on the battlefronts, paralleled his confidence in the United Nations. The storming of Kiev was a natural and ringing prelude to his words that "Victory is near."

In the last year of warfare, Marshal Stalin tells us, the Red Army was responsible for the loss of four million Nazis. The figure is stupendous and in addition to revealing the size of the battles that raged on the eastern front, it demonstrates the colossal strength of the Red forces, who emerged even stronger after every critical encounter. The Nazis have depleted their reserves, thereby marking the bankruptcy of their strategy and their incapacity to maneuver themselves out of the crisis that came with the defeats at Stalingrad and Kursk. All this Stalin sees as not only having significance "far beyond the limits of the Soviet-German front," but as also an immense tribute to socialist industry and agriculture, to the unity forged within the socialist state. Everything the Soviet peoples have built has withstood the fire of war. And if in modesty Stalin does not refer to himself as the helmsman of these historic deeds, all mankind knows that it was his genius and that of Lenin which guided their people to new heights of achievement.

For the rest Stalin underscores the imminent debacle facing the Nazi satellites—that crew of thieves which only the prospects of loot could hold together. Now, he says, the time has come for them "to answer for their robbery." And on the other side Stalin sees the peoples of Europe rising in their wrath finally to reckon with the Hitlerites. Germany's prestige has declined while—in contrast—the prestige of the Allies grows and with it their solidarity as expressed at the Moscow Conference. A second front is not far off and after it a new responsibility will face the coalition—the tasks of restoration and the organization of Europe. Stalin offers five points for Europe's reconstruction which obviously grow out of his definition of the coalition's program of action which he made in November, 1942. The tasks, as Stalin notes them, are the restoration of the states dismembered by Hitler; these states' right to self-determination; punishment of the fascist criminals; the establishment of such order in Europe "as to completely preclude the possibility of new aggression by Germany"; and finally, the restoration of what has been destroyed, through the collaboration and mutual assistance of the peoples of the continent.

These points deserve the most careful study by Americans, for they can well serve as the nucleus for a peaceful and stable Europe. They mesh with the spirit of the Moscow decisions and give rise to the hope that our children will at least have the possibility of a secure and ordered future.

Tribute to An Ally

NOWHERE and at no time in all our many years of attending meetings have we seen anything as magnificent as the final session of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship at Madison Square Garden. The brilliance of the speakers, the splashes of color, the jubilation of the audience—all these joined to make an extraordinary and stirring event. Those who spoke, and they included leading figures in our national life, evinced the deepest admiration for our warrior ally. But more, the note that came singing through the microphones time and again was that ours must be an enduring partnership with the Russians, for without them the structure of peace will be built on quicksand. There was the additional note of warning in Secretary Ickes' address that "unfortunately there are powerful and active forces in this country that are deliberately fostering ill will toward Russia. . . . Pro-fascist snipers, following the line of the Patterson-McCormick axis, constantly spew out hate of our brave and valiant ally. . . . They all have a disregard for the truth, that is both congenital and total."

Donald Nelson, just returned from a journey to Moscow in his capacity as head of our War Production Board, told a story which brought ringing cheers from his listeners. In Novosibirsk a Russian came to say how much he liked Americans. "And 'when we Russians like somebody, we break a plate—like this.' And with that he raised his huge fist and crashed it down on the plate, smashing it to pieces. I figured that this was no time for official decorum. So I reached out and grabbed two plates, and I said, 'when we Americans like somebody, we break two plates—like this.' And I hit the two plates with my fist." Mr. Nelson cut his hand, but it gave him the opportunity to say that the little oozing of blood "was merely a token of our united military efforts—a little American blood on the Russian front, where they had poured out so much in our common cause."

This was the spirit of the meeting.

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REUNION IN MOSCOW

By John Stuart

THERE are no cunning words in the Moscow agreements. The whole is straightforward, lucid, and patterned in most respects to the present needs of the war. It is a new dimension in the relations among the leading democratic powers. By agreeing to agree Washington, London, and Moscow—and Chungking on a global scale—have affirmed the principles which make for cooperation and mutual confidence in unraveling Europe's knotty problems. Unity is strengthened in the knowledge that the common interest in a speedy victory demands the utmost application of military force in the shortest possible time. And more, postwar organization is conceived as a development rising out of the close bonds forged during the conflict. In essence, the Moscow conference planned the framework for the safety and happiness of the world for many years to come.

Such is the momentous outcome of an eleven-day meeting in a capital whose very name, ironically enough, for more than two decades fired the hatred of powerful but evil men. With full justice many have already celebrated the Moscow sessions as the official end of all those tragedies germinated at Munich. For we now have a shift in policy away from those stubbornly held convictions that the Soviet Union would not countenance joint action, that she menaced the world with her socialist ideology, that it was better to have Hitler than Stalin. Even up to the moment of the Moscow meeting's definitive communique thousands of words appeared in newspapers here and abroad that both the British and American delegations were engaged in brave attempts to secure Soviet consent to collaboration. So imbued were many commentaries with Nazi thinking that not even President Roosevelt's elation over the course of the negotiations could alter the unconscious expression of the divisiveness fostered in Berlin. And now that the consultations are over, the same inanities rise again, for example, in a column by Mark Sullivan in the New York *Herald Tribune* of November 5. There this senile and unreconstructed analyst infers, when he does not say so directly, that Messrs. Eden and Hull were forced to exert heavy pressure to win Mr. Molotov's agreement to the declaration on Italy because it guaranteed freedom of press, freedom of speech, freedom of religious belief, etc. In effect, Mr. Sullivan wonders whether the Soviet Union is abandoning its political convictions for so-called western concepts.

Mr. Sullivan, of course, is an example of ignorance of the facts of Soviet life. But in his thinking he reveals prejudices which at long last have been largely conquered by more mature men and women not in the least sympathetic to the Soviet system of government. The Moscow agreements are assurance of the growing belief that differences in social order must not block a common understanding and that what is decisive in choosing our friends is not the color of their flags or their dietary habits, but their will to work together with us in defense of the common interest against the common enemy.

IN MANY respects, then, the Moscow declarations are indicative of a more fruitful understanding of the concept of coalition both for war and peace. But more, on the American side, they delineate our foreign policy which we so unhappily know has been blurred, ambiguous, and dismaying to those who take the Atlantic Charter as a solemn promise. In eleven days we have done much to wipe the slate clean and inscribe on it the marks of hope and good will. For it was not long ago that policy was primarily rooted in the soil of expediency. We found ourselves in a harrowing war emergency in which our choice of allies was not a free one. Compared to Anglo-Soviet relations our policy towards Russia was a day-to-day makeshift, dependent on whims and subject to all the cross-currents of momentary displeasures. Arrangements were negotiated with different agencies which obeyed the orders of the Commander-in-Chief when, it would seem, they agreed with those orders. Policy towards Russia was made not infrequently by minor officials and as often as not there were half a dozen answers to the same question with no decision to cut the web of contradictions. These, more or less, comprised the emergency relations towards a leading ally who some felt should be approached in the first place through an intermediary power.

Underlying this puzzle was the notion that as the emergency terminated, so too would terminate even our shadowy relations with Moscow. This was, as Earl Browder put it in these pages last week, part of a misunderstanding of the coalition as an "alliance of convenience, for the moment, of a purely military character, without foundation in any common interests or goals except the purely negative one of defeating the common enemy on the battlefield." From here it was a short step to the idea that once the crisis abated, as victory loomed larger and nearer, all the separate ambitions and different interests of ruling groups in this country and England would break the bounds in which they were kept by the necessities of survival. Five wandering senators, for example, returned with a list of demands to be exacted from London. Britain, a weaker ally, was angered by the outburst and made its counterdemands and countercharges. The future of shipping, of airways, of rubber stocks became more important than the future of the world.

The exhortations against the British merged with exhortations against the Russians. And the whole unsavory business represented a loosening of the coalition which, in the absence of decisive military action in Europe, created a distressing impasse among the three powers throughout the whole of last summer. After Quebec it was clear that there was a serious divergence of Anglo-American strategy from a single coalition strategy. And there was complete justice in the opinion that all this was symptomatic of plans in many quarters for an Anglo-American exclusiveness in prosecuting the war and dominating the peace.

Viewed even with a minimum of optimism the Moscow agreements have scotched, impeded, if not formally thrown these schemes back into the laps of their originators. That in large part is the great triumph expressed in the joint four-nation declaration. For it establishes the concept of equal participation in making decisions, in the formulation of principles, in the give and take of ideas. Flexible mechanisms are set up for the settlement of differences and as instruments of consultation. The London Advisory Commission will examine a host of Allied problems in connection with Europe. It will be hard now to commit again the stupidities of the past, with one or two governments arriving at decisions and then by special emissary informing the third—the third usually being the Soviet Union. Now all measures of war taken against Germany and her satellites will be joint measures, thereby helping to eliminate the friction over differences of military and political strategy. In this connection the issue of the second front is decided by the three powers instead of the past procedure where Mr. Churchill, for example, publicly argued against the urgency of such a project and the Russians or the Americans could take it or leave it.

IN THE declaration on Austria, the first nation to be overrun by Hitler, we see political warfare at its best. Here is a country which the Nazis considered indivisible from German destinies. There is the simi-

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larity of language, a long history of economic, cultural, and political relationships. By telling Austria that independence will be hers, that *anschluss* will be terminated, the three powers do a maximum of political damage to the Germans in central Europe. For Austria to begin breaking away from Berlin will have the greatest effect on the Balkan peoples who do not even have the bond of language. The declaration is a repudiation of Hapsburg plans in the United States—plans which Empress Zita arrived in Washington last week to refurbish. Such forthrightness on the part of the Allies will dampen the ardor of a long list of hangers-on who, with the help of some American diplomats, were attempting to exhume their thrones and positions of power. It will give courage to the oppressed peoples that their future is their own, that the degree of redemption rests in their own hands, that no foreign agencies will impose on them rulers who have ruined them in the past.

By itself the Italian declaration can serve as a model for dealing with the rest of Europe. All the freedoms of the Atlantic Charter and of our own Bill of Rights are guaranteed to the Italians. It is, as Claude Cockburn reports from London on page 8, a most valuable statement of policy, indispensable in hastening the military campaign on the peninsula. As a supplement to the Italian armistice, the declaration is the most advanced of all the commitments made by the Allies and focuses attention on Italy's great immediate need: a genuinely progressive government rallying effectively the Italian people in the struggle against the Germans.

If the joint statement on atrocities is coupled to the Italian and Austrian declarations, one can detect perhaps the beginnings of a realistic policy towards Germany. Germans can see for themselves that they are not indiscriminately lumped with the Hitlerites. Punishment will be exacted only of those responsible for Nazi crimes although all Germans will have to shoulder the burden of responsibility for the war. Nothing is said of course about Germany as the key element in the settlement of Europe. Here undoubtedly there are major differences of opinion among the Allied governments, but at least they will be resolved in cooperative fashion. The agreements are primarily directed at hastening the defeat of Hitler, who has counted on sustaining himself by telling Germans that their future at the hands of the Allies will be brutal and savage. The Germans now have a small part of the answer.

THE coalition then has moved forward in planning both the means to victory and the means to peace. In all this, in the formulation of the final agreements, in the cooperative spirit which he brought to Moscow, Secretary Hull deserves a full measure of both praise and credit. His indeed is a personal triumph. But it is also a triumph over himself—an achievement difficult for small men. By climbing above old prejudices he has risen in stature. It was Mr. Hull who thought at one time that politics and war could not be compounded. Now it seems that he has accepted the axiom that indifferent politics make for indifferent warfare and that indeed reactionary politics can rust and tarnish the most brilliant of military instruments. The Secretary of State was perhaps a little slower than others in recognizing that without the closest collaboration among the components of the coalition there could be no enduring peace and order. But he has made the turn and whatever tory forces in the country counted on his support now have their answer in his signature to the Moscow agreements.

His former colleagues in the Senate were under the impression, as columnist Samuel Grafton observed, that in their debate over the Connally resolution they were haggling over some far-distant utopia. The tempest in the Senate chamber over grammar and language while in Moscow three men behaved as senators should, is another example of how often our legislators are behind the times when they are not behind the President and the majority of people. The amended Connally resolution places a bipartisan Senate on record on the central issue of our generation. At the very least it indicates to the world that it is formally not divided from the President in the most important of commitments which the executive branch has made. If the Senate had done less (it could have, of course, done

(*Continued on page* 28)

THE WEEK IN LONDON by CLAUDE COCKBURN

FROM SPIRIDONOVKA TO WHITEHALL

London (by wireless).

A PUBLIC which had been, to say the least, skeptical of the results of the Moscow conference received the real results with an enthusiasm which was all the more exhilarating just because of earlier doubts. I don't think anyone here has failed to appreciate fully the main outcome at Moscow. I think, however, there are a number of points which are being discussed here and which perhaps are not yet fully reported.

It is clear, for example, that China's association with the general declaration has profound significance for both present and future developments. It is first of all a heavy rebuff to those in Chungking and elsewhere who may have sought to exploit divergences in policy between Moscow and Washington. Second, it is seen here as serving notice on Japan that the Red Army's victories make it possible to arrive at the type of diplomatic decision which confronts the Japanese with the general conclusion of the four powers that Japan will have nothing to say at the ultimate Far Eastern settlement. It is also thought that it is by no means out of the question that the sharpest reactions may come out of Tokyo, now faced with the uncompromising attitude made possible by the Red Army victories.

Apart from this general declaration, attention here has naturally centered first on the agreement concerning Italy; second, on the statement about Austria; and third, on the implications of France's exclusion from the London three-power commission.

The declaration regarding Italy is reckoned as the end of Darlanism. It is, of course, somewhat paradoxical that the British and American policy, which supported the House of Savoy without supporting the working class parties—who incidentally were prepared to work with the House of Savoy without making the monarchy or even the position of Victor Emmanuel an issue—should in fact have resulted in a situation wherein it appears that Anglo-American policy is now forced to support Count Sforza and Benedetto Croce on more or less republican lines. This is probably because Sforza and Croce now offer the "safest" bet in a situation which has been allowed quite unnecessarily to deteriorate to a point where the monarchy has become the major issue, unfortunately overshadowing the much more urgent and immediate matter of anti-German, anti-fascist mobilization. Nevertheless, it is true that the Moscow declaration has provided the terms of reference for all Allied dealings with

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Italy. It represents the fullest appreciation of all demands made for many weeks by working class parties in Britain no less vigorously than by working class parties in Italy.

SOME quarters here have been inclined to treat the declaration on Austria merely as a move in political warfare without serious significance for the future. The best informed, however, consider this a serious mistake and a serious underestimation of the real meaning of this declaration, particularly with reference to British policy toward central and eastern Europe. I don't think it is an exaggeration to say that the declaration on Austria represents a profound change in British policy, that it is a constructive act and a real step toward the beginnings of a foundation for a genuine "new order" in Europe capable of inspiring and assuring the peoples in the struggle against German imperialism.

The immediate repercussions in Austria, and hardly less in Hungary, are obvious and are already noted in London. They will be redoubled, I should think, when the decisions on Austria have received their natural complement in the signature of the Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty, which may now be confidently expected at a very early date. There is an immense feeling of relief in London over the fact that the British and American governments have apparently at long last accepted the proposition that some genunine measures for the reconstruction and stability of central and eastern Europe can be taken now after all. This is perhaps a defeat for those who, from only too obvious motives, tried successfully until the Moscow conference to maintain the eastern European situation in a state of chaotic flux in order to perpetuate the existence of troubled political waters wherein certain disreputable anglers might fish.

THERE is general sympathy with the uneasiness and anxiety expressed in French circles at the fact that France is not represented in the London Commission. It is understood that this anxiety is a product of the long period wherein the British and American governments failed to recognize the realities of the French position and refused to recognize the French National Committee as representative of the French republic. All this has naturally left some pretty deep scars on patriotic Frenchmen and it is natural that they are now filled with suspicion. They point out that the Italian Council does not cover more than a small section of the interests which vitally concern the French.

My own view, however, is that practically speaking, a new situation must work out in a way favorable to the French people. For whatever Anglo-American governments may theoretically wish to maintain as a position relative to the French Committee, which has already been recognized by the Soviet government as representative of the French republic, the fact is that if the London commission is to get to work seriously on developments rising out of the war in Europe, it will have to consult the French on a large number of points. And it is obvious that the only French body that can be consulted is the National Committee at Algiers. Therefore, in practice it seems highly probable that we shall see in London the development of a machinery of consultation with the French which will quietly—and let us hope, smoothly, without interruption from London and Washington—begin to function in such a way as to take account of the fact that the Algiers committee is representative of the French people and the most vital anti-Nazi force in Europe.

IT MIGHT be noted in passing as a somewhat ludicrous diversion in the margin of history that the Polish government in London has had the impudence to suggest that if France were to be included in the London commission, the Polish government should also be jemmied into it. Doubtless it would be tactless to do more than call attention to the existence of propaganda which goes so far as to attempt to draw a parallel between the reactionary Polish government and the French National Committee.

AROUND THE WORLD

MIKHAILOVICH'S BOYS IN CAIRO

THE Yugoslav government-in-exile recently moved from London to Cairo. It moved to Cairo remodeled and refitted with a new premier, Bozhidar Purich, and a dozen new ministers replacing the quarreling members of the previous cabinet. Before the old members gave way to the new they voted themselves a year's salary each—about $8,600. With the new cabinet reorganization the frequent government crises were supposed to have been ended—ended by exchanging one list of names for another. But the fact is that the crisis continues, for the new cabinet does not even represent that minimum of democratic collaboration that the two Jovanovic governments did. It is a cabinet of bureaucrats, a makeshift, but one of those makeshifts intended to become the permanent instrument of a most reactionary domestic and foreign policy. In fact, the cabinet consists of characteristic representatives of the dictatorship overthrown by the Yugoslav people in 1941.

Of Premier Purich newspapers in Washington, New York, and London said that he was an able man with a long record of diplomatic service in this country and in France, Britain, Italy, and Switzerland. Some gossip columnists remembered that Purich was at one time connected with a Chicago heiress who was rumored to have been engaged to ninety-seven suitors; that he wrote poetry and that his family was tied up with a lot of banks.

There are, however, more important and interesting facts about Mr. Purich and his cabinet. Purich represents the Tsintsari crowd of Belgrade, those privileged few in command of vast fortunes in a land of great poverty. He represents a corrupt group of merchants, diplomats, and politicians who have ruled Yugoslavia in the past and brought the country to the edge of the grave. Stojadinovic, one of Yugoslavia's fascist premiers, who naturally sold out to the Nazis, was a member of this gilded coterie. The degenerate leaders of Pashich's old Radical Party also belonged to it. (Incidentally, one of Purich's diplomatic triumphs was to marry Pashich's daughter.) From the same ranks came the men who established the dictatorship and it is no surprise that Purich was a collaborator of Prince Paul, notorious for his pro-Axis foreign policy. This group was also responsible for the catastrophic attitude towards the Croats and Slovenes. And to this day its members cherish the great Serb chauvinism of which Mikhailovich is so fond.

NEXT in importance to Premier Purich appears to be General Petar Zivkovic, deputy commander in chief and acting war minister in Mikhailovich's absence. Zivkovic's appointment shocked the majority of

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Yugoslavs for it was he who in 1929 abolished the constitution, dissolved the political parties, and proclaimed his will as the law of the land. He initiated a regime of terror against Croats and Slovenes as well as against trade unionists and other democratic political leaders. Even before 1929, Zivkovic had a black record as head of the officers' society, the White Hand. It is also interesting to know that Mikhailovich served under him in the Royal Guard and was a favorite of Zivkovic's.

Minister of Interior is Vladeta Milichevich, hated and despised by all Yugoslavs for his secret police work during the royal dictatorship. Who are the other members of the government? There are a few nonentities. The others have records no different from Purich, or Zivkovic, or Milichevich.

As minister of foreign affairs also, Premier Purich has made some changes in the diplomatic service. He named Bogolyub Yeftich, one of the most reactionary politicians, ambassador to London. He rewarded the three former adjutants of the king, notorious for their pro-Mikhailovich and anti-British and anti-Soviet attitudes, with diplomatic posts.

IN THE meantime a few of the best people in the diplomatic service resigned in protest over the policy expressed by the appointment of Purich and his cabinet. Vecheslav Wilder is no longer attached to the Information Service. He was a member of the Independent Democratic Party and a good democrat. Colonel Simitch, minister to the French Committee, also resigned. He was a competent officer, a genuine liberal, and a constant foe of tyranny.

There have been repeated rumors that the Yugoslav government has proposed to put at the head of a committee which is to draw up the list of war criminals a diplomat whose name, if justice were done, should stand high on any such list. Nor is it surprising that the last act of the new cabinet before departing for Cairo was to send $5,000 to Prince Paul, the former regent who negotiated a pact with Hitler in 1941. Paul is said to be somewhere in South Africa.

"If anything can be certain," writes Vasha Trivanovich, an outstanding Yugoslav journalist and editor of *Yugoslavia*, "it is certain, in our opinion, that the great bulk of the Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenes will vehemently oppose the King's right to the throne if he attempts to return to Yugoslavia accompanied by the Puriches, Zivkovics, and Fotiches [the Yugoslav ambassador to Washington] . . . with Mikhailovich as the principal pillar of the Karageorgevich dynasty in the country." There can be no doubt that Trivanovich speaks not only for the Yugoslav groups in the Middle East but also for the people of Yugoslavia whose heroic army of liberation has already freed "with naked hands" one-third of the country from the Nazi invader.

PETAR PETROVICH.

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

PITCHFORK AND RAKE

AS MOMENTOUS decisions were being reached at Moscow by the big four of the United Nations, the guns of the battle fronts provided a mighty and appropriate counterpoint. Most spectacular was the capture of Kiev and the success of the Red Army on the southern wing of the huge front. In the south two army groups (General Konev and General Tolbukhin) assisted by the "fixed asset" of the Black Sea, created two areas of entrapment for the armies of Field Marshall von Mannstein. These areas are (a) the space between Krivoi Rog, Nikopol, and the southwestern approaches to Dniepropetrovsk with its bottleneck outlet at the junction of Apostolovo, and (b) the 10,000-square-mile diamond of the Crimea.

Between these two areas lies the great Nogaisk steppe which juts forward 180 miles like a huge wedge between the lower Dnieper and the Black Sea with the putrid Sivash Bay and the Bay of Kerkinit. The tip of this wedge at Kinburn is less than forty miles east of Odessa. Into the Nogaisk steppe General Tolbukhin hurled his tanks, Cossacks, and motorized infantry after cracking the Melitopol gate on October 23. Twelve days later his Cossack advance squadrons were at Golaya Pristan (Naked Anchorage) at the mouth of the Dnieper, having covered 140 miles as the crow flies.

It is clear that the Nogaisk steppe was the scene of a terrible German rout. Mobile Red Army forces and mounted regiments of Cossacks with their light tanks, all this paced by Stormoviks and fighter-bombers, not only wedged into Mannstein's divisions like a huge pitchfork, but created countless areas of local encirclement and annihilation, cutting down and destroying German units which had lost all operational cohesion and which were wandering in the steppe in search of a getaway.

Furthermore, Tolbukhin's great wedge, fitting snugly like a piston into the space between the water barriers of the Dnieper, the Black Sea and Sivash, pressed the enemy into the waters of these barriers. Some, of course, escaped, especially across the Dnieper and the waist-deep Sivash, but great numbers were killed or drowned, and surely their heavier equipment—i.e. everything heavier than rifles and pistols—must have been abandoned by the fleeing Germans.

Simultaneously with the announcements that the Red Army had reached the mouth of the Dnieper, came the news that in the region of Nevel, Soviet troops had broken the German front and had advanced to within less than thirty miles of the great junction and German stronghold of Polotsk (on the important line running from Leningrad through Pskov to Molodechno and Warsaw). And shortly after came the magnificent news that Russia's third largest city, Kiev, had fallen to the Red Army.

A summary of the four months of summer fighting on the Eastern Front (from July 5, when the Germans began their ill-starred offensive, to November 4) issued by the Soviet Information Bureau gives the following (round) figures:

Total German casualties	2,700,000
Of these killed	900,000
Of these prisoners	100,000
Divisions routed	144
Inhabited places liberated	38,000
Area liberated (sq. miles)	135,000
Planes destroyed or captured	10,200
Tanks destroyed or captured	17,700
Guns destroyed or captured	19,000
Trucks destroyed or captured	15,500

It may be confidently said that the southern wing of the German eastern front has been chewed to shreds and does not at present constitute an integrated whole. This *is* a collapse—maybe a temporary collapse—but a collapse it definitely is.

HOWEVER, the Germans in the Crimea, bottled up as they are, probably will resist as long as physically possible in order to delay the "repossessing" of Sevastopol by the Russians. For Sevastopol in the hands of the Black Sea Fleet and the airdromes of the Crimea in the hands of the Soviet Air Force would mean that Soviet guns and bombs would be poised only 200 miles from

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Rumania and only 300 miles from Bulgaria. And aside from everything else, this might have a strong "moral influence" on the state of affairs in the Balkans.

While these titanic battles were going on in the Soviet Union, the Allied armies, in their laborious climb up the Appennine peninsula, cracked the so-called Massico defense line of the Germans and took the communication point of Isernia. They now stand (November 8) some sixty-five miles from Rome. The Germans are not increasing their forces in Italy (on the contrary, there were neutral reports to the effect that ten divisions had gone from northern Italy to the Eastern Front) and are seemingly content to see us waste a lot of time climbing Italy rung by rung like a hay ladder. And the "loft" is still some 300 miles to the northwest from where we are.

Across the Adriatic, General Tito is showing amazing strategic enterprise. He has spread out to the periphery of his *place d'armes* and is attacking the enemy (which to him means Germans, Ustashi, and Mikhailovich troops) on many sectors on foreign land—in Italy, Austria, Hungary, and even Rumania. There is a man who has military imagination and who does not let himself be obsessed by the idea of *"what will happen if we are not successful?"*

As FAR as the so-called "air front" is concerned, large-scale bombing of Fortress Europa has been resumed after a long lull, with Cologne, Dusseldorf, Wilhelmshaven, and Wiener-Neustadt, the latest targets. It seems, from available reports, that our bomber losses have now been considerably cut down, mostly because of long-range fighter protection afforded by Lightnings and Thunderbolts.

In connection with the activities of the "air front" we note with interest the semi-official announcement the other day that all our bombings had destroyed no more than one-fifth of the total of German industry in almost two years. In terms of plane production it would mean, for instance, that Germany has been deprived of the production of some 6,000 planes a year, while the Red Army has destroyed 10,000 German planes in four months, or the equivalent of the whole German plane production for that period. Thus, the relative importance of strategic bombing, divorced from land action, is again put in its proper place.

In the Pacific our forces are attacking the last Japanese bastion protecting Rabaul—the island of Bougainville. Here our Navy has won a clear-cut, although small, victory over a Japanese task force. It is not so much the size of this victory that is important, as the fact the Japanese for more than a year now have been unable to attain a single success against our arms, either on land, on sea, or in the air. The aerial drubbing the enemy lately got repeatedly over Wewak and Rabaul verges on massacre. Our idea seems to be to entice the Japanese fleet to come out and fight, a thing which it studiously avoids.

In China the Japanese have been attempting to push two separate offensives: one a repetition of the "rice-bowl" offensive in the region of Lake Tungting last spring, and the other in the region of the Salween, against the Burma Road. Both offensives do not appear to be making much headway.

Thus, almost without exception, wherever United Nations arms are engaged, success is crowning their efforts. However, while these magnificent things are being achieved, in greater or smaller amounts, here and there arguments against a second front are again afloat. From the "newsbuffoons" of the Gabriel Heatter type to serious and earnest men like Maj. George Fielding Eliot, a whole gamut of commentators spreads the idea that it is either "unnecessary" ("we are doing as much with our bombings," says Heatter) or "premature" ("depleting Nazi reserves are the key to the second front," says Major Eliot).

We shall not argue with Mr. Heatter. But Major Eliot deserves attention. On November 2 he had a long piece in the New York *Herald Tribune* which bore the headline quoted above. After half a column of learned theory for the layman, Major Eliot gives the gist of the story: *"Therefore the moment for our attack in the West is the moment when the demands of other fronts have cut down the German reserves to the point where such effective counter-attack* [by the Germans against our invading force—Col. T.] ***can no longer be delivered.***"

WELL, we must say that is pretty cynical. The "other fronts" are obviously the Eastern Front pure and simple because the homeopathic front in Italy can hardly absorb any German reserves to speak of. And so the Russians after having lost *5,000,000 in the Red Army alone* are supposed to "absorb" still more while we recover from losing 5,500 in killed in a year of fighting in the Mediterranean. It is to be hoped that our military chiefs do not follow that line of thought, for the real basis for unity is *fighting together and that in proportionate amounts.*

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

REHEARSAL FOR 1944

Washington.

QUITE naturally, most Democratic politicians bank on the President running again and they expect to ride back into office on his coat-tails. There are, on the other hand, those in the Democratic Party who see alternatives. They think in terms of refurbishing the party—as one congressman told me: "The Democratic Party should be able to get the big hand at local Chamber of Commerce meetings." This faction is led by such men as Jim Farley, who has been grooming Senator Gillette of Iowa as a presidential dark horse, while others work on Senator George of Georgia and even on Senator Byrd of Virginia. Even if Roosevelt does head the Democratic ticket once again, the Vice-Presidency is at stake. The generals of these juntas are determined to dump Henry Wallace; they adopt the same defeat-Roosevelt tactics as their Republican rivals, and thereby take their place in the coalition undercutting the administration at every turn.

Roughly, the coalition can be described as a working arrangement between the hate-Roosevelt Democrats, the hate-Roosevelt Republicans, the America Firsters, the hate-Roosevelt wing of the NAM (the du Pont crew), and the outright fascists. The hatchet work is performed in Congress where the effect is most telling. As far back as 1941, the coalition seized the initiative from the administration and has clung to it greedily ever since. The strategy of the oppositionists is relatively simple: by sniping and by outright defiance they attempt—and they have had extraordinary success this last year—to scuttle or at least to water down every proposal for positive legislation required by the nation at war, to plunge the economy into chaos for which

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the administration shall take the blame. By exploiting every administration failure, by magnifying every discontent throughout the country, the way is prepared to raise the slogan in the 1944 presidential campaign that Roosevelt has led the country to the edge of ruin and that the war and victory and the well-being of the nation can be assured only if the job of restoring order and happiness is entrusted to a new Commander-in-Chief.

The key to this strategy is to choose the ground and the issues for public debate. Every day in almost any newspaper some discussion appears on the need for anti-labor legislation, like the proposed national service bill framed by the NAM, pushed by the Republicans, backed by the anti-labor poll taxers. The House Ways and Means Committee bows to NAM instructions not to increase tax levies on large corporations and inflated private incomes (industry and the wealthy can't stand a heavier load), and to force a federal sales tax "as a last resort"—letting the blame fall on Roosevelt. Every move to implement the President's stabilization program is sabotaged, with the America First Senators Wheeler and Nye, in collaboration with such tories as "Cotton Ed" Smith, spreading stories of impending famine from their vantage point on the Senate's Agricultural Committee. Subsidies to put ceilings on prices are postponed and blocked, rationing is undermined, OPA is weakened. Senators Chandler (anti-Roosevelt Democrat) and Lodge (die-hard Republican) lead the appeasers in an attack on coalition warfare. The junta blasts at lend-lease, picturing America as a sucker willing to support Russian, British, Chinese, and Hottentot foreigners in the life of Riley.

The strategy is justified under the old hate-word banners: the fight against Communism and the Red New Deal is the excuse to isolate the nation from collaboration with the Soviet Union; the slogan of "economy" revives the old Hearst pattern of smearing the British who supposedly devote all their energies to gypping innocent Uncle Sam; the denunciation of bureaucracy conveniently undermines selective service and the armed forces, and prevents other war agencies from functioning; the scream that labor is about to take over the country is justification for the virulent offensive against the unions, and the calculated effort to play the farmers and middle classes against the workers; and finally, any imaginable bugaboo is exploited to spread distrust of the government, to exaggerate the sacrifices necessary for the war, and to stir up racial tension between Negro and white, Mexican and white, Jew and Gentile. Whether the universal acclaim that has greeted the decisions of the Moscow conference will cause any modification in these tactics remains to be seen.

It is worth a thought that in this war there have been no cases of physical sabotage comparable to the "Black Tom" outrage of the last war. Now the enemy has a more effective weapon—the fifth column that divides the nation when unity is imperative. Exactly this line is the stock-in-trade of the anti-administration coalition. The lunatic fringe of Nazi sympathizers, Jew-baiters, Negro-baiters, Catholic haters, Red-baiters may be small in number compared to the total population, but their methods fit in snugly with the needs of the anti-Roosevelt forces, and more and more their obscenities are utilized. Dies plays his part, and Fish, and Rankin; Wheeler and Nye feed the flames; and suddenly when foreign policy is under discussion or "economy" or "bureaucracy," Red-baiting and racism flare, and the whole arsenal of Nazi perversion becomes part and parcel of the assault on the President and the war.

LAMENTABLY, the administration has failed to answer the coalition's divisive strategy in a forthright manner. The administration's inclination to appease mounts—and as a result "safe" Democrats, the poll-taxers, augment their influence. Byrnes and Vinson, Marvin Jones and Cordell Hull, poll-taxers all, control the key agencies of government. Retreat is only impeded now and then by the President himself. Agencies like the OPA fall into noisy inactivity, "functioning" without real content. But the attempt to win over the opposition by meeting their intransigeance with concessions here, there, and elsewhere, inevitably fails. The appeased feel their oats, grow bolder, entrench themselves at the expenses of the appeasers. Worse still, the administration finds some of its supporters falling away—the weak Downey begins to mouth the dangerous lies of Wheeler and Chandler; progressive Democrats flounder; and Republicans elected as progressives, like Lafollette of Indiana and Judd of Minnesota, grow panicky and are taken in tow when majority leader Joseph Martin reads them the riot act.

Those who take refuge in the faith that the unbeatable FDR will be in there slugging, lose sight of the fact that the President, if he does run for reelection, cannot be expected to win his contest *and* the congressional elections as well. Even the President's own chances are seriously endangered if the coalition is permitted to run hog-wild. Nor is the effect on the war effort and on postwar developments without importance. The fate of the nation dare not depend merely on the hope that FDR *can't* be beaten come what may. Moreover, what becomes of the President's policies, his outlook, his responses to problems if he is totally abandoned to the pressure of his enemies?

THERE is fortunately a reverse side to this ugly picture. Washington takes very seriously the growing mobilization of labor and the people, which has resulted from Sidney Hillman's CIO campaign to organize labor politically in preparation for 1944. The recent Cleveland elections, the victory of Clair Engle in California, the strengthening of the American Labor Party in Manhattan and Brooklyn show the possibilities for action. It is still true that the outcome of the 1944 elections can be determined by labor and the progressives. The defeat in 1942 of Democrats by die-hard Republicans in forty-three districts resulted from a shift of only one to two percent of the voters in most cases—a very narrow margin. The shift was principally the result of the administration's failure to define the issues at stake, to mobilize those who stayed away from the polls through lack of interest. The Hillman committee has stepped in to help do the job, which does not mean that the administration is thereby freed of the responsibility to give firm leadership. The havoc that the repeal of the poll-tax can spread among the anti-Roosevelt forces in the south makes it imperative to pass this legislation immediately. The administration has the obligation to win the confidence of the Negro people everywhere—without the Negro vote, the administration cannot win in 1944. It must prove to labor that it intends to follow a progressive course, and it must win over the farmers and middle-classes by fighting without compromise for the stabilization of the economy. The Moscow agreements, by substituting for the ambiguities of our foreign policy genuine coalition with the Soviet Union, Britain, and China, greatly strengthens the administration's position. The further implementation of these decisions will help assure a win-the-war-and-the-peace outcome of the 1944 elections.

Behind the Elections

(*Continued from page 3*)

are national in scope contributed to the result. The inefficient handling of price control and rationing undoubtedly counted in the voting. And the effectiveness of "farm bloc" demagogy among the rural population should not be underestimated. It is also clear—and this is particularly underlined by Detroit—that the labor movement has only made a beginning toward organizing on the political front. There is a big job to be done among the rank and file and the people as a whole. Putting it in a nutshell, the American people are faced with the task of guaranteeing the election in 1944 of a President and a Congress who can be trusted to carry on in the spirit of the Moscow Conference decisions. A large order, but our future demands nothing less.

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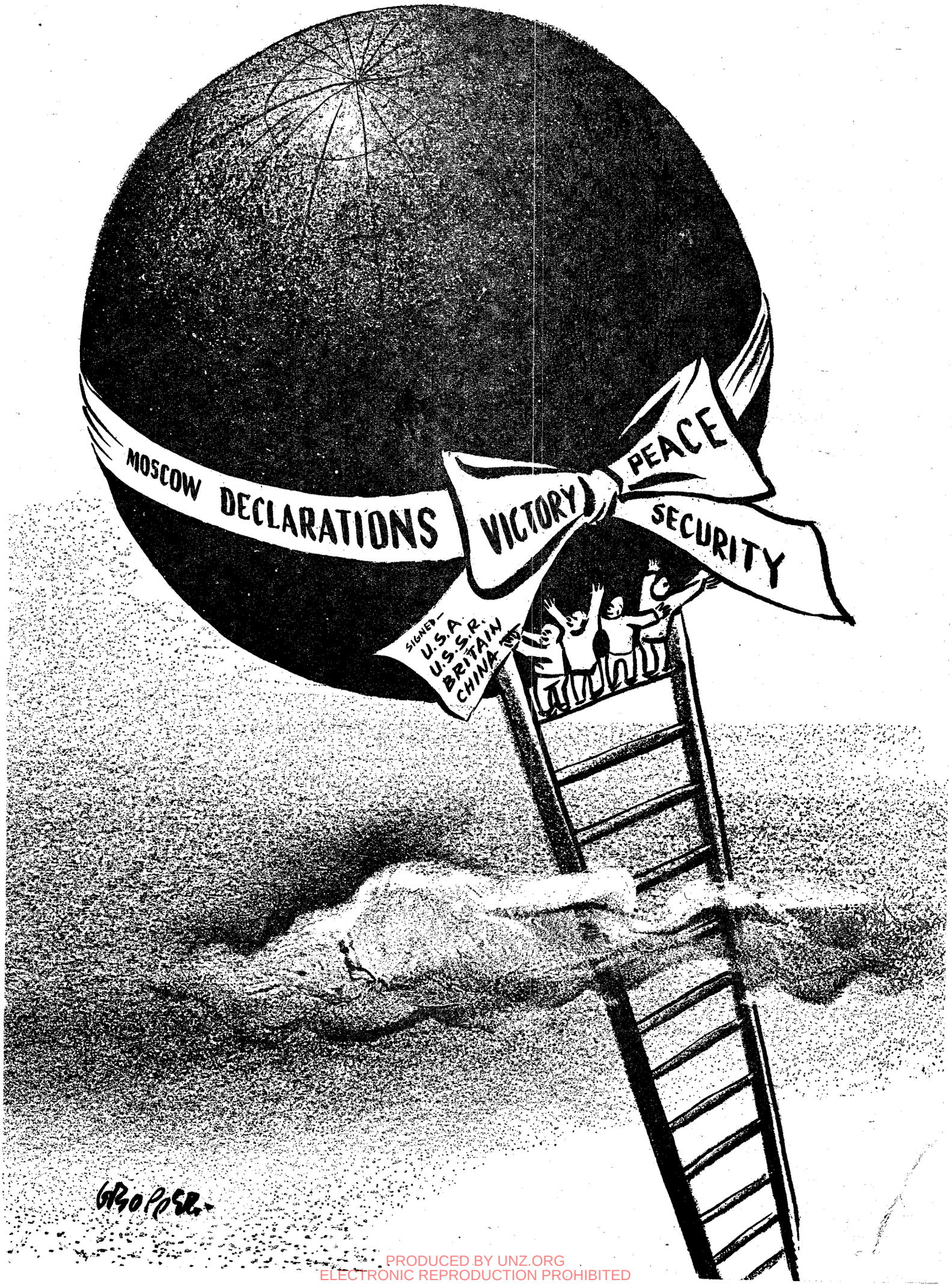

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WHY I BECAME A COMMUNIST

The saga of a Negro teacher's awakening. From child worker to university educator, Doxey Wilkerson tells the story of how he found his way in politics.

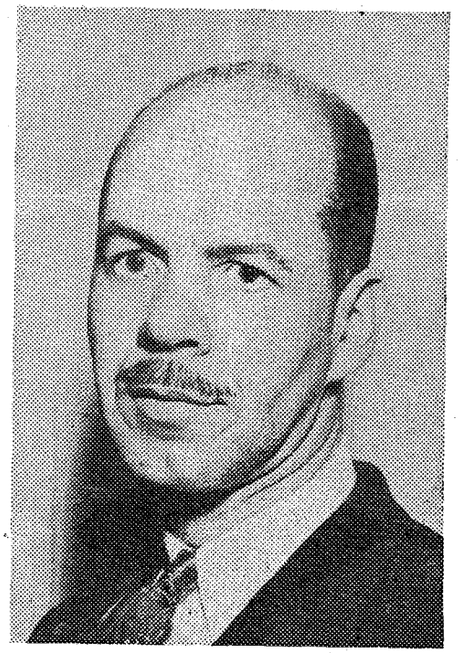
On June 19 Doxey A. Wilkerson, noted Negro educator, resigned his positions as associate professor of education at Howard University and as education specialist with the Office of Price Administration to join the Communist Party and become its educational director for Maryland and the District of Columbia. NEW MASSES *has asked Mr. Wilkerson to tell its readers why he took this step. We are pleased to present his article, which will be published in two instalments. Readers who would like to write Mr. Wilkerson about his article can address him c/o Communist Party of Maryland, 201-03 W. Franklin St., Baltimore 1, Md.—The Editors.*

I JOINED the Communist Party as the logical and impelling next step in a series of experiences which pointed inexorably toward that end. My feelings as a Negro American, considerable study of social theory, direct observation of social relationships in many parts of the country, increasingly extensive activities in the trade union movement and in numerous progressive organizations, all served to define social values and to develop social insights, the inevitable outcome of which, *at some time,* simply had to be affiliation with the Communist Party.

I joined *at this time,* leaving a challenging professional career to become a full-time Party functionary, because of a powerful urge to render maximum service to the winning of the war. It becomes increasingly clear that this war has assumed a character which opens up new vistas of freedom for the millions of "little people" of the world. To the well informed, it is also clear that no civilian organization in our nation has more completely subordinated its own special interests to all-out and effective promotion of the nation's victory program than the Communist Party. Having passed the age of military service, I entered the service of the Party because of the conviction that therein lay the opportunity for my maximum civilian contribution toward victory and the building of a constructive and durable peace.

This, in brief, is why I joined the Communist Party—now. Perhaps an autobiographical approach to my subject will help to make these reasons clear.

THE experiences of my childhood and adolescence did much to shape the attitudes of social protest which later became driving forces in my life. My mother and step-father (with whom my early life was spent) were poor, and both worked hard



Doxey A. Wilkerson

to support the family, to assure my education, and to accumulate the property which now sustains them in old age. I recall that, while still a child, I resented especially the back-breaking labor of my mother. She was then, and still is, a cheerful, vigorous, deeply religious person, who found solace in the faith that, "the Lord knows what is best." Yet, somehow, it just did not seem right that *she* had to work so hard.

My early experiences as a child worker did much to sharpen my consciousness of race. When about nine or ten years of age, I sold newspapers on the down-town corners of Kansas City, and also worked a short while as a golf caddy in an exclusive country club. The usual newsboy fights over competitive street-corner "economic interests" frequently assumed the character of minor race conflicts, the whites against the Negroes, with appropriate epithets being hurled both ways. It was during this period that I had my hardest childhood fight with a white boy, this time over the relative prowess of Jack Johnson and Jess Willard, who were about to fight for the heavyweight championship. The golf caddy job I lost when the club manager learned he had hired a Negro.

I recall that, along with such childhood experiences as these, there were frequent frustrations at being barred from Jim Crow theaters I wanted to attend. Then, too, the vivid accounts of increasing southern lynch horrors, brought regularly to my home through the Negro press, did much to crystallize rather bitter childhood prejudices against "white people."

Later boyhood work experiences tended to broaden my developing attitudes of social protest. At fourteen, during the summer months, I worked ten hours a day on the receiving end of a rip-saw in the Forrester-Nace box factory. I still recall how the factory wheels continued to buzz in my head for hours after I had returned home. During the last two years of high school, I worked as a porter in a millinery shop, and also delivered papers for several hours a day. Although the combined jobs paid "good money," they deprived me of many school, social, and athletic experiences which I cherished.

IT WAS when I was seventeen, immediately after my first year in college, that my identification with the working class and hatred for its exploiters began initially to assume conscious form. I worked that summer in the dark, damp, stinky hide-cellar of the Morris Packing Company. For several weeks I suffered excruciating pains in my eyes upon coming out into the sunlight, and seldom found relief until night-fall. By the time I returned to college in the fall, I had lost twenty pounds in weight.

There was no union at the Morris plant; indeed, I and my older fellow-workers hardly knew what a union was. But we did know that we were over-worked and under-paid, and further, that something should be done to improve the abominable physical conditions under which we labored. Our dissatisfaction was expressed in nothing more constructive than vehement and eloquent cursing of our straw-bosses and the company. Nevertheless, that summer in the hide-cellar made me keenly conscious of this (for me) "new" truth: there are workers and employers, and their interests are not the same. This premise conditioned most of my later thinking on social issues.

At the University of Kansas, despite the Jim Crow barriers which the institution maintained, I learned an important lesson about race relations: not all white people hate Negroes. I developed warm friendships with a number of white fellow-students and several professors, sincere democrats all, who were quite as bitter as I at the injustices accorded Negro students on the campus. It was then, with their help, that I began my career as a crusader—for admission of Negroes into athletics and the swimming pool, against racial segregation at musical concerts, against occasional

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prejudices one encountered in the classroom.

Probably the greatest impetus to my social education came through associations on the "cabinet" of the University YMCA. The "Y" secretary was an honest and courageous progressive, who profoundly stimulated the social thinking of his "cabinet." "Y" cabinet discussions and activities broadened the area of my social sympathies to embrace far more than questions of race conflict. They brought me many stimulating contacts with the developing national student movement, through conventions in Milwaukee, Estes Park, and elsewhere; and initiated a train of serious thought and study concerning the ethical basis of my social motivations.

ONE further student experience which did much to shape the pattern of my social thought and behavior was joint-editorship of *The Dove*, a self-styled "liberal journal of campus opinion." Now *The Dove* was anything but a "peaceful" publication. Its initial staff—nine white fellows, a Japanese and myself, including several members of the YMCA cabinet—sought no less than to blast the forces of evil from our campus and the world at large. We exposed unsavory fraternity combines in student politics, fought for the abolition of campus "Jim-Crow," lambasted professors who espoused reactionary doctrines in their classrooms, and even extended our crusading to broader issues of state and national affairs.

The Dove created quite a furor. University authorities forbade its sale on the campus—with the result that sales more than doubled at the campus borders. Kansas legislators denounced the University administration for harboring the young "radicals" who were its editors. The iconoclasts, George Jean Nathan and H. L. Mencken, gave it their blessings in the *American Mercury*. The liberal, William Allen White, was a sort of patron saint. On one occasion, the Chancellor of the University, anxious about the possible influence of anti-*Dove* sentiment upon the institution's revenue from the state, formally requested that *The Dove* withhold a pending issue for several days until the Legislature had voted upon the University budget. The editors were honored to grant the Chancellor's request.

Among other outcomes—and, of course, there were others—my college experiences gave me a keen sensitivity to the many injustices of our society, and, of even greater importance, an impelling zeal to "do something" about them. This crusading urge still abides, although its mode of expression has gone through several stages of development.

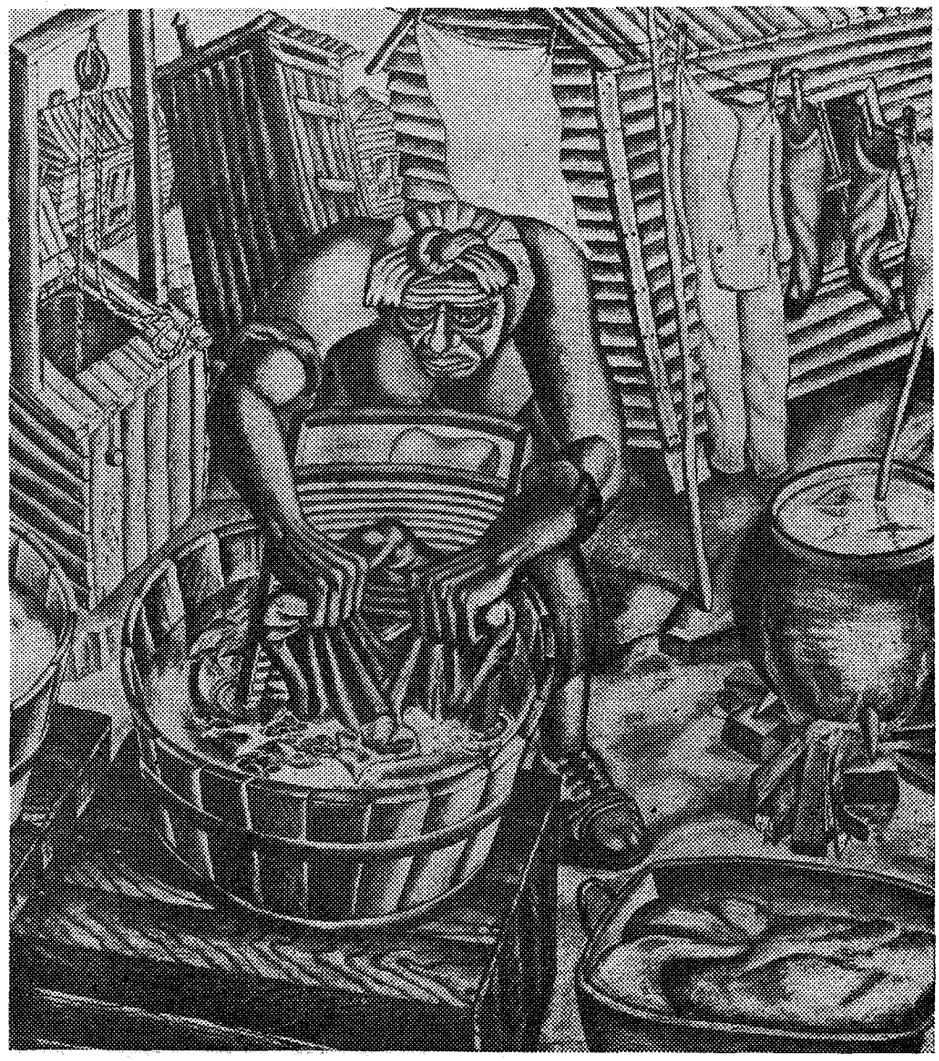
THE dominant interest of my professional career, covering sixteen years at Virginia State College and Howard University, has been the adequacy—or rather, the inadequacy—of public provisions for the education of Negro children. It is an interest which led naturally to much broader fields of study and action. It was characterized by three major periods of development.

First, there was the period of investigation and publication. Incident to a variety of professional activities, I travelled constantly throughout Virginia, and was shocked at the disgraceful neglect of public education for Negro children in most areas of the state. I began to conduct surveys and to publish articles contrasting Negro and white school conditions. Implicit was the somewhat naive assumption that to expose this flagrantly undemocratic state of affairs would lead the "good people" of Virginia to insist upon its correction. I soon learned better.

On one occasion, incident to a state senator's reaction against a study I published, which ranked the counties and cities of Virginia according to relative degrees of racial discrimination in public education, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction called the president of my college to Richmond to discuss my crusading activities. He told the president that if Wilkerson did not stop this sort of thing, he (the superintendent) would not be able to support him. The president duly informed me of the superintendent's threat, but he made no effort to insist, as my superior officer, that I cease my obnoxious activities. Whether this was because he knew I would not conform, or because he secretly approved of my position, I have never been quite sure.

This incident is but illustrative of many others which soon made it quite clear that investigation and publication alone would not suffice to enhance public provisions for the education of Negro children. Something more impressive than scientific appeals to reason and conscience seemed to be required.

SECOND, there came the period of agitation and organized pressure. I began to exhort Negro citizens to petition their school boards for better schools for their children; to send delegation after delegation demanding improvements, and when rebuffed, to send more delegates still. On



"Laundry Woman," oil painting by John Biggers. Part of an exhibition of Hampton Institute students on view at the Museum of Modern Art until November 28.

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one occasion, when the bigoted superintendent of Chesterfield county schools sought to destroy the accredited status of the Negro high school as he was about to leave for another post, I helped citizens organize a petition campaign which got the signature of every Negro taxpayer in the district and led to the defeat of the superintendent before the Board of Education.

The use of political pressure came to be a favorite theme of mine during this agitational period. On one occasion, after I had been exhorting the Negro people of Halifax county to pay their poll taxes and vote for men who would provide adequate schools for their children, the elderly county superintendent arose with tears in his eyes to plead with "our good Negro citizens" not to heed the advice of this alien upstart from the North, to "trust in the Lord, and a hundred years from now things will be entirely different."

There was a kindred spirit at Virginia State College with whom "political pressure" was even more of an obsession than with me. Together, we organized in Petersburg the League of Negro Voters, dedicated to the task of encouraging Negro citizens to pay their poll taxes and vote. Subsequently, the League has spread to encompass most of the state. Significant of its possibilities was an incident at the local court house, where we had been tabulating the potential Negro voting strength in the various wards of the city. After watching us for several days, a curious county official came forward to inquire, none too courteously, what we were doing. We explained in full, whereupon there developed a metamorphosis in his demeanor. "Well, *Mr.* Wilkerson and *Mr.* Jackson," he said, handing us his card, "I am up for renomination as county treasurer in the Democratic primaries, and I hope you *gentlemen* will not forget me."

My record as a "bad Negro" continued to grow at the State Department of Education. Following an Emancipation Day address in Sussex County, where the Negro-white school differential was greater than anywhere else in the state, the local superintendent reported that I was trying to incite the Negro masses to rebellion. On another occasion, the then State Supervisor of Negro Education—who, incidentally, was neither an educated man nor an educator—reported an "inflamatory" address he had heard me deliver, and expressed grave doubts that my activities should much longer be tolerated. Not long afterward, I relieved Virginia officialdom of my annoying presence and went to the freer intellectual and political climate of Howard University.

FINALLY, there came the period in which I began to view the problems of Negro education in terms of a larger and more significant frame of reference: the universal struggle of the masses of underprivileged people, both white and Negro, for liberation from the bonds of their exploiters. Many influences contributed to this stage of my professional development.

My nation-wide investigations of educational conditions impressed me with the close interrelation between denials of educational opportunity and political freedom, on the one hand, and the economic exploitation of the people on the other. Especially in the mill-towns and plantation areas of the deep South is this pattern of relationships most clearly evident.

One spring I spent several weeks driving through the rural South, making a direct study of the social-economic "setting" of the Negro school. Among other places, I visited the Mississippi delta, on whose broad, flat plains of rich black earth two principal "crops" are grown: Negro children and cotton, both cultivated for the same purpose—profits. Even in early April, the wretched Negro school shacks were closing down, to permit the children to go into the fields. They would re-open in mid-summer —"lay-by" time, when the cotton needed no further cultivation—only to close again in the fall when the children returned to the fields to harvest the crop.

I talked with planters, with white and Negro tenants, with teachers and county superintendents, with school board and other public officials. I began to sense how the whole oppressive plantation society was caught in the grip of an inherently exploitative economy of which the "lay-by" schools were but a superficial expression.

IN THE little mill-town of Clinton, S. C., I observed the industrial counterpart of this relationship. Upon visiting the white high school, I was impressed by the sallow faces and drowsy expressions of the children. The very courteous principal explained that many of them were excused from school early in the afternoon to go to work in the mills, where they remained until late at night. I visited the mills, where only a very few Negroes were employed, and all of them in custodial capacities. I saw there the frail and undernourished white girls tending long lines of looms—at wages of from ten to twelve dollars a week. I learned that the mill-owner also owned the bank and much of the real estate in Clinton. It appeared that he also owned the local government, for his nephew, the mayor, spent most of his time working as a bookkeeper in the mill.

Here was a society built upon economic foundations which simply could not tolerate real democracy. It became increasingly clear to me that the special problems of Negro education—indeed, all the special problems of the Negro people—were rooted in an economy whose very existence was dependent upon human exploitation. I began to see that, in order to protect their profit-seeking interests, the rulers of the semi-feudal South *must* resist with all their might any substantial extension of democracy in education, in government, in social relationships, or in employment—either to the Negro people or the great masses of whites. This insight helped me better to understand how fascism comes into being —as the ruthless attempt of a ruling financial oligarchy to suppress the democratic aspirations of the people.

My early interest in better schools for southern Negro children had led me quite some distance, and the end still lay far ahead. Studies of Negro school conditions in southside Chicago, Harlem, and elsewhere in the North revealed educational-economic-political relationships which differed only in degree from those more crudely evident in the mill towns and on the plantations of the deep South. Campaigning for federal-aid-to-education legislation brought me into conflict with such undemocratic forces as the New York State Economic Council, whose agent told the Senate that much needed federal financial assistance for the education of white and Negro children would be un-American —indeed, "communistic." Close association with several famous "academic freedom" cases, in which honest and able university and public-school teachers were persecuted because of their unorthodox views on political and economic issues, served but to strengthen my insight into the nature of those reactionary forces that were seeking to dominate the country.

The final stage in the development of my social point of view and pattern of action was now close at hand.

DOXEY A. WILKERSON.

(To be continued)

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LET'S STOP PRETENDING

AMERICANS, consciously working for Hitler, are killing Americans. Americans, consciously stabbing the American army in the back, are persecuting Americans. Americans, consciously members of the fifth column, are turning other Americans against their countrymen in ever increasing numbers. Americans killed thirty-six Americans and wounded more than 1,000 Americans in the week of June 20, 1943, in the American city of Detroit. Americans killed Americans in Beaumont, Texas. Americans assaulted Americans in Los Angeles. Americans beat Americans, scores of them, in ancient Boston, and Americans in America's greatest city—New York—are reviling Americans, taunting Americans, assaulting Americans. And over the country there flows an increasing stream of poison infecting waiters and taxicab drivers and clerks, infecting rich and poor, turning Americans against Americans when the safety of America calls for the unity of all Americans.

Hitler once said—and his remark has been widely printed—that he would find it easy to turn Americans against Americans, to turn symptomatic and recurring conflicts in the American scene to his own advantage. *He is doing it now.* Americans in high places are systematically spreading race hatred for the domestic purpose of defeating the President, breaking labor, electing a reactionary and gutting the New Deal; and for the international purpose of coming to terms with Hitler or any available substitute. To conventional minds, conditioned by the mild, bromidic fictions of formal history, the actuality of history, the fierce, tragic stuff from which it is really made, is too strong for credulity. Such minds may reject the fact that anti-Semitism is systematically being spread in the United States in a strong but desperate attempt to defeat the President and salvage, if not Hitler, the best available equivalent. Such people do not realize that a progress prospers, as anti-fascists grow in strength, there is a corresponding increase in the efforts of anti-democrats, and that, paradoxically, the better the situation becomes, the more dangerous it becomes until a certain point is passed.

THERE are people, too, who believe that the American continent is immune from the evil currents of the world, that a *cordon sanitaire* of high American purity somehow bars those ugly facets of human conduct that plague the remainder of the earth. They see no relevancy in the fact that in Germany both Hitler and anti-Semitism were financed by certain *high industrialists*. There are actually some who, in the name of civil liberties, argue that it is an inalienable American right to be anti-Semitic, not knowing or caring that in Germany anti-Semitism was found to be anti-Germanism and a facade behind which the liberties of all Germans were murdered. The fact that some of the highest placed people in France were in a plot with Hitler to hand over their country to the Nazis was too incredible, too melodramatic for many Frenchmen to believe, although the French Communist Party before the war warned ceaselessly that this was true. It is necessary to add, "Look at France now" to indicate the danger of being just too well bred to listen to the Communists?

The fall of France is an illustration that cannot be too often recalled for it is a case of history of the modern world and not a peculiarity of a parochial situation. One might think of it now when Earl Browder tells us, as he has told us for months and years, that a pro-Hitler, anti-American fifth column exists in this country. It is doubtful if the common technique of fighting domestic fascism by pretending it isn't there—so consistently employed by the nation's press—is a patriotic or effective procedure. As anti-Semitism and Coughlinism pyramid before our eyes, should we continue to ignore this disclosure of Mr. Browder's? Should we shrug it off on the idea that after all Mr. Browder is only a Communist? He was right about the necessity for collective security in 1935. He was right about Spain in 1936. He was right about Austria in 1937. He was right about Czechoslovakia in 1938. He was right over the years (as the Moscow Conference attests)in calling for Anglo-American-Soviet-Chinese collaboration as the basis for enduring peace. The world rightly hails Walter Lippmann for his current projection of a nuclear alliance. Mr. Browder advanced the same idea in 1938 and went to jail in 1940. The point is that perhaps Mr. Browder is right now. The point is that perhaps it is a dangerous luxury, inimical to thousands, to go cute when a Communist leader speaks and dismiss it with such coy nonsense as "But you know, my dear, really how the Communists are. They are all right in Russia—but here!"

AND it is not as if Mr. Browder were alone in his disclosures. The more than five million members of the CIO through their recent convention have characterized anti-Semitism as a serious threat to the sovereignty of the United States and branded its purveyors as traitors. John Roy Carlson in *Under Cover* has named literally hundreds of influential people, publications, and organizations working ceaselessly to bring fascism to the United States. We have the evidence of our own eyes, ears, and common sense. Everyone knows that Senator Reynolds before the war advocated collaboration with Hitler, everyone knows that he published a racist, Hitlerian magazine, *The Vindicator*. Everyone knows the records of Senators Nye and Wheeler, of Congressman Ham Fish who, among others, used his office to distribute Nazi propaganda in the United States. Everyone knows that Vice-President Wallace solemnly declared that if Congressman Dies were paid by the Nazis, he could not serve them any better than he has. Everyone knows, or should know, that there are American congressmen who had actual contact with the Hitler government. Whether it was before or after December 7 is a technicality that solaces the guilty but gives slight comfort to the rest of the world. Everyone knows that anti-Semitism is increasing as the national election of 1944 nears, as Hitler increasingly requires help, and everyone knows that some eight hundred organizations that spread it are without exception against Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Everyone knows, or should know, that American Jews fought brilliantly in the American Revolution, settled in America in many instances not long after the *Mayflower* arrived, gave their blood in the Civil War and the World War, and that hundreds of them have been decorated for deeds of epic valor in this war. Everyone knows or should know that in a very real sense there is no longer any such thing as anti-Semitism; there is only anti-Americanism. An attack on the Jews is an attack on you. An attack on the Jews is an attack on labor. It is an attack on the Negro people. It is an attack on President Roosevelt, the New Deal, and an attack on all decent elements in the Republican Party. This is not rhetoric. All anti-Jewish diatribes include attacks on Roosevelt, Willkie, LaGuardia, or anyone or anything decent. An attack on Jewish

(*Continued on page* 19)

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FINNISH FIASCO

Otto Kuusinen probes the inner workings of Helsinki's fascist junta. The spreading discord among the government's supporters. An opposition afraid of its own shadow.

KARELIANS and Finns are fighting heroically with their Russian comrades in the Red Army and in the partisan detachments against Mannerheim's troops. Finland's rulers have stopped talking about "liberation" of the Karelians and have thus silently admitted the utter fiasco of their national demagogy in Soviet Karelia. But they have not stopped plundering and harrowing Karelia's people. They have not stopped destroying its towns and villages. Such is the manner in which the Finnish invader's "cultural mission" expresses itself on Karelo-Finnish territory.

Finland's rulers built all their war plans on the illusion of a Hitler victory. In August and September of 1941 these illusions were at their peak. In the same year, however, after the first counterblows were struck by the Red Army, Helsinki changed its tune considerably. But in the spring and summer of 1942 Helsinki was again projecting the imaginary "irresistibility" of the "decisive offensive" of the Nazis on the Soviet-German front. All dispatches about Germany's temporary successes were still further exaggerated and splashed across Finnish newspapers. In September, according to these dispatches, the Germans had "fully occupied" Stalingrad. "As far as the human mind can judge," wrote the military correspondent of the Helsinki *Sanomat* on Sept. 16, 1942, "The Bolsheviks' last hour has struck."

Blinded by the Germans' boastful statements and their own adventurist policies, Hitler's Finnish disciples lost all conception of the Red Army's great striking power—a force they had occasion to feel on their own skins in the battles of 1940. It is easy to imagine that when a few weeks later the real truth emerged, the effect was shattering. It is said that during the Red Army's sweeping offensive at Stalingrad, all government officials in Helsinki felt as if they were sitting on a volcano. Alarmed at Finland's growing political isolation abroad, the government sent one Finnish minister after another to deny in interviews and speeches that the government entertained any plans for a greater Finland; to announce a desire to maintain diplomatic relations with the United States; and to beg Sweden for the usual charity—this time in the form of credits and war materials. At the same time discussions started in the Finnish press on the possibility of "Finland withdrawing from the war." But it was immediately discovered that this was being done to throw sand into the eyes of the Finnish people and to deceive foreign observers. The government had not the slightest intention of withdrawing from Hitler's war. Finland's rulers simply wanted to wave the white flag of peace for a while in order to divert from themselves the people's rising discontent with the war. They also tried to give their friends in the Anglo-Saxon countries a pretext for the idea, in case of Germany's defeat, that the Finnish government was innocent of any complicity in the war.

THE following fact shows how far it was from the intentions of the Finnish rulers to make any effort to disengage themselves from Hitler's bloody adventure. In the spring of 1943 the remnants of the Finnish battalions fighting in the ranks of the German army in the north Caucasus were sent back to Finland. Only 500 of the original 10,000 had survived. They were pompously welcomed; the chairman of the Finnish parliament personally greeted them. Efforts were made after their "furlough" to persuade them to return to Germany, but the majority have so far not yielded to these persuasions. Meanwhile Hitler, according to the Swedish press, is demanding that the Finnish government replace the missing Finnish battalions on the southern front. In compliance Helsinki has decided to organize a new recruitment. If there is no voluntary response, the government will undoubtedly dispatch by force, in chains if need be, the required number of Finns.

The latest reorganization of the Finnish government shows most convincingly that Finland's rulers do not intend to change their policies. Edwin Linkomies, head of the National Coalition Party, has become premier instead of Johan W. Rangell. Among the political leaders of Finland's plutocracy, Linkomies was always outstanding for his extreme reactionary views. He is one of Hitler's trusted men in Finland, one of the more responsible instigators of the present war. Thus the change in prime ministers means the substitution of a big fascist for a small one. The post of foreign minister went to a shrewder diplomat, Henrik Ramsay, instead of the German agent Rolf Witting, who had greatly compromised himself. Ramsay plans to continue the former's game but less openly. The post of home minister was given to the inveterate reactionary, Lev Ehrnwoth, who formerly was secretary of the Employers Union of Finland and later, in League of Nations circles, was involved in anti-Soviet intrigue. Rudolf Walden, the "paper king of Finland," remains in office as minister of defense, and Vaino Tanner, the Social Democrat, who also enjoys Hitler's

"But General Mikhailovich, it's time to announce a few more victories!"

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confidence, remains minister of finance.

Naturally Berlin is satisfied with this reorganization. All efforts are now being made by this reorganized government to absolve itself of responsibility for war crimes, to retain power and preserve at least part of the captured Soviet territory. With these aims the Finnish government continues to fight as a subsidiary force of Hitler Germany while at the same time it attempts to mislead public opinion in Britain, America, and Sweden. At home the government is intensifying the measures of terrorism and deception of the Finnish people.

Finland's present rulers are greatly alarmed over the "upsetting of national unity." Discord is spreading among the government's supporters, as was indicated by Premier Linkomies himself on May 12. He said that "only within the past year different circumstances have arisen which reveal the lack of understanding of how important it is for us to preserve unity." He lies, of course, when he says that such "circumstances" have come to the fore only this year. Even Risto Ryti, Finland's president, as far back as October 1942 stated in a radio address that "former discord is again becoming apparent." This referred to the dispute between the two government parties—the Agrarian and Social Democratic—on prices for agricultural products. The representatives of the Agrarian party demanded an increase in prices of these products while the Social Democrats were opposed. This dispute has been dragging on and on and from time to time the ministers of one or the other party threaten to resign from the government but never do. The government finally decided to satisfy the demand of the Agrarians in the following manner: the farmers selling agricultural products were granted a state subsidy amounting to several million marks, with income tax increased one percent to cover state expenditures. Despite this, however, the dispute continues. Leaders of the Social Democratic Party are stirring up peasants while leaders of the Agrarian Party are stirring up workers. The reason for this is obvious; both sides want to divert the mounting discontent of the workers and farmers away from the ruling plutocracy and its government.

THE establishment of unity among the people is beyond the reach of the present government, for it would be directed against the government. Of course there are grounds for discord even among the supporters of the government. The Swedish newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, wrote on July 25, 1942: "Anyone acquainted with the situation in Finland can confirm the fact that relations between the supporters of the conquest of greater Karelia and those who favor prudent defense are strained and can easily be aggravated." Evidently this Swedish paper, when speaking about the supporters of "prudent defense," meant primarily certain circles within the party of Finnish Swedes.

There are people in other government parties who are fully aware of the adventurist nature of the government's policy of continuing the fascist war, but who nonetheless do nothing to change this policy. Political cowardice is typical of the entire opposition in the camp of the government parties. For example, when the president's term of office ended in February 1943 only twenty-three members of parliament were opposed to the reelection of Hitler's lackey, Ryti. But even these twenty-three did not dare express objections by voting against him. They merely abstained from voting. This "opposition" is afraid of its own shadow. True, it is afraid of the consequences of the military adventure embarked upon by Ryti, Linkomies and Mannerheim. But it is even more afraid of preventing these agents of Hitlerism from continuing their adventure. For more than anything else it fears destruction of the "home front"—that is, its united front with the ruling group. Even in its dreams this "opposition" has not the slightest intention of relying on the popular masses to start a serious struggle against the criminal government. For it fears the people and therefore avoids taking any step which might encourage the growth of discontent and activity among them.

The Social Democratic leaders of the trade unions also came out in May 1943 with their platform of "local opposition." But they are simply scoundrels, and not an opposition. They are alarmed at the growing opposition of the working masses against the war and against the Hitler policies pursued by the government. And the trade union leaders are trying to cover up their complicity in these policies by verbally disavowing them. They act wholly on the instructions of the present government and particularly on those of Vaino Tanner who has sold out to Hitler and the Finnish fascists. As one Swedish newspaper put it, Tanner has "devoted himself to the cause of war policy and to camouflaging this policy."

BUT internal disintegration will inevitably spread in Finland's ruling camp. It is also clear that fascist power will not collapse as a result of internal discord or because of economic difficulties. It is disintegrating and rotting, but it will not collapse until it is shattered. The Finnish people can save themselves from the Hitler plague only through a decisive struggle. Finland's participation in Hitler's war is the greatest misfortune and the greatest shame in Finnish history. It is to be hoped that Finns will soon find strength and courage to wash away the shame of the anti-Soviet war by overthrowing the agents of Hitlerism. It is a matter of honor for the Finnish people. The vital interests of the Finnish people themselves are involved as well as the interests of the Soviet people, who demand reliable guarantees that the Finnish attacks against Soviet territory will never be repeated and that the Finnish people be given the opportunity to live in peace with the Soviet people.

OTTO KUUSINEN.

Mr. Kuusinen's article is from "The War and the Working Class," magazine of the Soviet trade unions. It has been transmitted via Inter-Continent News.

Let's Stop Pretending

(*Continued from page* 17)

Americans is an attack on all Americans. It is a planned attack. It is Hitler's attack.

History and our country demand that we act *now*. The Republican Party should unequivocally repudiate all support from anti-Semites, from racists, from those in high places who flirt with fascism in their eagerness to beat the President. Every candidate, especially those for President and Congress, should be forced to take a stand against anti-Semitism, against racism in any form. Labor in the knowledge that anti-Semitism is always the mark of a fascist should increasingly take formal cognizance of the situation. The scores of organizations fighting prejudice on isolated fronts should unite in a single organization with a single program. Better still a broad, national conference, representing all democratic elements, should be called to combat the growing menace of the fascist fifth column. It should always be remembered that it is possible apparently to destroy fascism abroad and suffer it here. If we face the world as it really is we can avoid it. If we organize on the facts confronting us we can defeat it. But if we fight anti-Semitism by ignoring it, as do press, radio, movies, and Congress, we are doomed. If we insist on pretending that the world is dainty and safe, it can happen here.

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THE PEOPLE, ALWAYS

Howard Fast, the author of "Citizen Tom Paine" and other historical novels, shows how the exercise of democratic rights in the past paved the way for great events.

THIS war can be won on the battlefield, yet lost here in America; but if we win here in America, this war cannot be lost on the battlefield. I know as well as anybody how hard it is to fight outside of a uniform. There's little reward and no glory—yet I know that the fight here at home is as important as, and in a sense more important than the campaigns in Italy and the southern Pacific.

The very nature of this war, a people's war, makes that a truism. This is not the first people's war America has fought. The American Revolution was a people's war, and the Civil War was too; and in both those wars, as I propose to show you, decisive actions were fought on the home front as well as on the battlefield. And in some cases, a battle was decided many miles from the sound of the guns.

Why is it that the government of a democracy must respond to the will and the pressure of the people? When that is stated as a bare fact, it seems to have almost mystical content; but there is nothing mysterious about it. The very nature of a democracy makes the government an instrument of the people's will; and if the government should try to go counter to that expressed will it must face one of two alternatives, electoral defeat or revolution. In the course of our history, both these possibilities have occurred.

In 1775, a Continental Congress sat in Philadelphia. The people let their desires be known; the Congress did not respond. Whereupon in Concord, in Massachusetts, the people's committee of action created a revolutionary situation which Congress was forced to acknowledge. A year later, in May of 1776, Franklin was still able to say, "Independence is dangerous and unnecessary." John Adams thought, "Independence would be a most badly calculated move." And even Tom Jefferson said, "I do not see a pressing need for independence." Yet two months after, in July, the Declaration of Independence was adopted by Congress.

Once again, it was the will of the people, as summed up by Tom Paine in *Common Sense*, that forced the government to move. The very fact of the huge circulation of *Common Sense* proved the temper of the people in regard to the independence question, and the government realized it must either bow to the people's will, or give way to another government.

JEFFERSON was the first American president who clearly realized that he could move no faster and no slower than the will and support of the people indicated. He had that peculiar sensitivity to the people that allowed him to coordinate his actions with their desires; and thereupon he established a great tradition for America, for the presidency, and for democracy. This tradition came to its fine fulfillment in the person of Abraham Lincoln. Of him, in regard to his signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, the Negro historian DuBois says:

"This national right-about-face had been gradually and carefully accomplished only by the consummate tact of a leader of men who went no faster than his nation marched, but just as fast; and also by the unwearying will of the Abolitionists, who forced the nation onward."

I would like to repeat that: "A leader of men who went no faster than his nation marched but just as fast."

The question then was emancipation of the black slaves in the South. Lincoln knew, as so many knew then, that upon that single question depended victory or defeat for the United States—indeed the very survival of the democratic ideal in the civilized world. Yet Lincoln did not move; Lincoln could not move for emancipation until the will of the people became so insistent, so well organized that he was forced to act not as a dictator of the masses, but as an instrument. If he had moved prematurely, he would have failed.

Let me make even clearer the parallel with today. In the same tones as they condemned Lincoln as a dictator, some people today condemn Roosevelt. Confused liberals by the hundreds are joining the reactionaries in attacks upon the president. They ask: "What has he done about Giraud? What has he done about Badoglio? What has he done, here at home, about the poll tax, about the second front?

Howard Fast

Roosevelt has, as Lincoln had, only one problem—to win this war in the shortest time. Roosevelt knows, as well as you and I, that appeasement has failed, that the poll tax is a weapon of our enemies, and that a second front must be opened. But Roosevelt is not a dictator. He cannot act—indeed, he must not act—unless we support him with overwhelming pressure. And if we organize that pressure, and when that pressure becomes great enough, Roosevelt must and will act. Roosevelt has not betrayed us. The liberals who attack him have betrayed us, for they have taken their strength from the basic issues and turned it against the man who can only be an instrument of the mass will of the people.

We have, as citizens of a democracy, a great power. If we use this power, and use it correctly, as it was used so often in the past in times of crisis, we will win this war on the home front and save God knows how many thousands of lives on the battlefield. If we do not use this power, then we have failed and we have betrayed every man who died fighting fascism.

There is no room for cynicism, for doubt, for a feeling of futility. That is only a sop to our conscience. For we are not futile, and our kind in such meetings assembled were never futile.

LET me make a historical point once again. Our Civil War practically stopped the export of cotton from the South to England. The mills in Manchester, in Nottingham, and in Liverpool closed down, and the British industrial workers suffered such hunger and misery as is almost beyond description. Yet through this, a vast majority of them supported the cause of the Union.

In early spring of 1863, the Union cause was hard hit—and it was at that time that the Tory government in England decided to recognize the Confederacy and declare war against the United States. But on March 26, 1863, a monster mass meeting of British workers was held at St. James Hall in London. John Bright and John Stuart Mill spoke for the cause of democracy in America, and these hungry, unemployed British working men shook the hall with their applause. And it was directly the result of this meeting and other similar meetings that prevented Britain from either recognizing the Confederacy or declaring war on the Union.

Those British workingmen, three thousand miles from the battlefield, not only preserved democracy in the New World, but sustained the cause of the Union and

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saved thousands of American lives.

I could go on with many more examples of how British and American citizens have exercised their democratic right to put pressure on their governments and force them to do their will. But there is neither the time nor the need. The facts are plain. If we want the poll tax repealed; if we want an Anglo-Soviet-American coalition; if we want a second front—the whole responsibility lies with us, with people who think our way. If we make our voices loud enough, we will be heard.

There is no glory, and if we succeed, there will be no personal reward. But God help us if we fail, for then history will mark us with the blackest color in its book.

We failed once before—when Spain fought for its life. If we had been united then, if our voices had been loud enough, history would have been different. Thousands who are dead might be alive. And the failure was ours, because while we saw a little, we did not see enough, while we did a little, we did not do enough. God grant that we don't fail again.

HOWARD FAST.

The above is an address delivered by Mr. Fast at a recent meeting on the Anglo-American-Soviet coalition, sponsored by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

LOOKING AT SCIENCE

by WILLIAM RUDD

MATHEMATICIANS AT BAY

MATHEMATICIANS are notoriously poor at arithmetic. It is not that they make mistakes. They sometimes don't know the rules. They do not even know whether there are rules. For instance, they do not know how to find a prime number by rule.

A most interesting story is the following. Mathematicians do not know the answer to the *Goldbach conjecture*. The Goldbach conjecture was a suggestion that any *even number* greater than 2 could be represented as the *sum* of *two primes*. (A prime is a number which cannot be divided by any number except itself or one.) Thus, for example: 18 = 13 plus 5, 28 = 23 plus 5, 40 = 29 plus 11. In 1742, Goldbach pointed this out to the great mathematician Euler, who was completely baffled by the accompanying challenge to prove it to be true of *all* even numbers. The two-hundredth anniversary of Euler's failure was celebrated recently. It has also been the failure of thousands of talented and great mathematicians since Euler. The whole mathematical world was completely discouraged till 1931, when a gleam of hope appeared in the brilliant demonstration of a young Russian genius, Schnirelmann, aged twenty-six, who proved directly that every even number can be represented as the sum of not more than 300,000 primes. There are 298,998 primes to be gotten out of the way before the conjecture can be said to have been proved. The Russians are picking the primes off just as if they were Nazis. Another Russian mathematician, Vinogradoff, has the number of primes that constitute an even number down to four. But he has shown that only for large numbers and still can't tell the world *how large*. Unlike Schnirelmann, he has shown this only by an indirect method. Goldbach's guess is still a guess. Mathematicians of the United Nations are invited to open a second front on this curious problem in the simplest of arithmetical relations.

AN ASTRONOMER GONE WRONG?

A NOTE in the *Journal of Terrestrial Magnetism and Atmospheric Electricity* makes one think that the world is probably poorer for a great meteorologist because his interest shifted from the *science of the earth* to the *science of society*. During the years 1898 to 1901 a certain Josef Djugashvili served as junior scientist at the Tiflis Observatory in Georgia. Stalin has been particularly interested in geophysics ever since. (Josef Djugashvili is Joseph Stalin.)

THE SCIENCE MOBILIZATION BILL (s. 702)

SENATOR HARLEY M. KILGORE is sponsor of a bill to organize scientific research in a more efficient manner than has been done heretofore. Although the bill would coordinate efforts now dispersed almost into nothingness, would put to work hundreds of scientists who cannot even get a hearing, and would allow for a check-up on bureaucratic control of research now practiced under the cloak of secrecy, several scientific organizations have gone on record against it. The American Chemical Society, the largest scientific group in the USA, and under the rigid control of an extremely reactionary bureaucracy, made a vicious attack on it. And the Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science has voted 146 to five against acceptance of the Kilgore bill. All this was done in the face of the fact that "free enterprise" in science is about as free as the fifth freedom of business and the NAM. The small, but highly intelligent, American Association of Scientific Workers, while finding some faults in the bill because of lack of expert drafting, is supporting it in order to start the ball rolling for the integration of one of the most significant activities in our integrated society.

A BIT OF POLISH HISTORY

POLES who look back in history in order to establish their claim for the Ukraine or perhaps all of Europe, might find a more profitable undertaking in looking back at a real landmark in Poland's past. They will find that one of the most brilliant scientific careers of all times was terminated four hundred years ago by the death of the Pole Nicholas Copernicus. He was the greatest revolutionary of the starry heavens. His demonstration that the earth was not the center of the universe opened the floodgates of discovery. Somehow a revolution in the heavens has its reflection on earth, because as later scientists have shown, both heaven and earth are made of the same material and behave in the same way. In a sense, he made the earth "to rise on new foundations." Although he stopped the sun and moved the earth, Copernicus was no Joshua. His explanations were not religious and he knew how dangerous it was to confront a superstitious world with a great discovery. His monumental work, *Concerning the Movement of Celestial Bodies*, was circulated privately in manuscript and was finally printed secretly in 1543, just in time to be delivered to the author on his death bed.

PIPE LINES ON THE MARCH

THE lifeblood of engines consists of the fuel oils and lubricants which must be supplied by frequent transfusions at any cost. These precious fluids are carried in the battle area by truck, and, unfortunately, trucks are fairly easy to hit with bombs or to stall by bad terrain. Something was urgently needed, especially in areas like the Burma Road and North Africa. A solution of the problem was supplied by Sidney S. Smith of the Shell Oil Company—the portable pipe line. The procedures of laying and operating the mobile pipe line were rehearsed by the Army in Virginia and put to practice in several cases in North Africa and in Sicily. The lines were even used to transport water.

The pipe comes in twenty-foot sections, four to six inches in diameter, which can be lifted by a single man. It is flexible and requires no trench digging. Pumping stations are located twenty miles apart and there are automatic cutoffs. The line can be filled at the rate of two and a half miles an hour as it is being laid, and it can be laid at the rate of ten to thirty miles a day, so that it can keep up even with the most panicky Nazi retirements "according to plan." Thirteen tons of material per mile, costing about $3,000, are strung out into a thin, almost bomb-proof pipe, which can carry a quarter of a million gallons of gasoline per day right up into the Fuehrer's face.

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NO MONEY TO BURN

Who really has those "surplus dollars"? The sales taxers on the rampage again. A program to help the war without killing the low income groups.

WHO has the money and against whom should new taxes be levied? The tories of politics and journalism are trying to sell the public the idea that the bulk of so-called excess purchasing power is in the hands of the lowest income groups. Therefore, they argue, increased taxation of these groups is necessary both to help finance the war and to combat inflation. It is this assumption which lies behind the agitation for a sales tax. Though the House Ways and Means Committee, in drawing up a new revenue bill, voted against a sales tax, it is not at all certain that this tax is dead. The revenue measure has still to undergo the torment of the Senate Finance Committee, headed by Senator George of Georgia, architect of the demagogically named "victory" tax. And the strategy seems to be to scuttle the Treasury Department's tax program and seal off the ability-to-pay sources—a job which the Ways and Means Committee has already done—and attempt to force the administration to endorse or accept a sales tax as the only alternative. The pressure for this is coming from the National Association of Manufacturers, the chambers of commerce, and the press, particularly the New York *Times*, which is conducting in almost daily editorials a holy crusade for the sales tax.

Expert in the use of statistical half-truths, these sales-tax crusaders have been exploiting Secretary Morgenthau's unfortunate statement, "Today, four-fifths of all the income of the nation is going to people earning less than $5,000 a year." Now what do the official statistics show? The table on this page gives the Treasury's statistics of estimated distribution, by net income classes, of income recipients, income payments, and personal taxes at levels of income estimated for the calendar year 1944. I have indicated the relative percentages, along with the average amount of purchasing power per recipient in each of the income classes.

According to these statistics, eighty percent of the national income is going to persons with incomes below $5,000, but a glance at the last column demonstrates that *excess purchasing power* is in the hands of those with incomes above $3,000. And these statistics reveal the crucial fact that 9,100,000 persons, with incomes above $3,000, will be receiving $60.7 billion, while 58,200,000 persons, with incomes below $3,000 will be receiving $96.3 billion.

IS THERE excess purchasing power in the hands of those with incomes below $3,000? Let the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics at the University of California answer that. The Heller Committee finds that a budget providing the "standard health, decency and moral well being" of a wage-earner's family of four in San Francisco costs $2,357.55 a year at March 1943 price levels. When taxes and war bonds are added, $2,991.70 will just balance the budget: food, $916.85; clothing, $256.67; housing, $408.00; house operation, $115.97; furnishings, $15.75; medical care, $179.00; life insurance premiums, $113.00; recreation, $48.00; miscellaneous, $304.32; war bonds (ten percent of income), $300.00; taxes, $334.23.

A family of four with an income of $3,000 a year will have exactly $8.30 "left"—more than gobbled up by even the official two percent increase in living costs since March 1943. The inflationary menace presented by the money in the hands of families with incomes below $3,000 is pure fantasy made of Rumpelstiltskin cloth. And, mind you, the $2,357.56 needed by a worker's family of four (this is a little below the size of the average family) is well within the limits of the existing supplies of goods and services—which will total $90,600,000,000 in 1943—or an average of $700 per individual. Measured by this $700 allotment per person, it becomes obvious that family incomes above $3,000 possess the excess purchasing power.

But what about the *"inflationary gap?"* One school of economic thought worships the *inflationary gap* thesis. To these devotees the "inflationary gap" explains all, determines all, solves all. Siphon off the "excess purchasing power"—the difference between the total income payments received by individuals and the total value of available civilian goods and services—and the problem of inflation is solved, the economy stabilized. This is essentially the position of the *Times* and other

US Treasury Department Estimates of Income Distribution

Net Income Classes	No. of Income Recipients	Percent of Total Number	Total Income (in billions)	Percent of Total Income	Personal Taxes (in billions)	Income Less Taxes (in billions)	Average Purchasing Power per Recipient
$0 to $1,000	21,600,000	32.1%	$19.2	12.2%	$0.5	$18.7	$ 865
$1,000 to $3,000	36,600,000	54.4%	77.1	49.1%	6.6	70.5	1,926
Total under $3,000	58,200,000	86.5%	$96.3	61.3%	$7.1	$89.2	***
$3,000 to $5,000	6,700,000	10.0%	30.7	19.6%	4.0	26.7	3,985
$5,000 to $10,000	1,830,000	2.7%	14.5	9.2%	2.7	11.8	6,448
$10 to $25,000	460,000	0.6%	8.1	5.2%	2.2	5.9	12,826
$25,000 and over	110,000	0.2%	7.4	4.7%	4.1	3.3	30,000
Grand Total	67,300,000	100.0%	$157.0	100.0%	$20.1	$136.9	***

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sales tax advocates. Those at the other pole view the inflationary gap as a myth. This view may stem from the fact that the inflationary gap theory has been utilized both by reactionaries and unthinking liberals to justify drastic taxation of the masses on the premise that excess purchasing power lies in their pockets.

In my opinion, a more accurate view is that the existence of a pool of excess dollars is, in view of the limited supply of civilian goods, an important, but by no means all-determining, element which must be considered in stabilizing living costs. The owners of these excess dollars, especially those who have been accustomed to a better standard of living than the war economy permits, are tempted to use these dollars in black-market purchases, paying more than ceiling prices. And in making these black-market purchases they are depriving those with low incomes of their share of goods.

Even if the price control and rationing system were far more effective than it is, these surplus dollars would have a disturbing effect. It is desirable therefore to immobilize substantially the surplus dollars of would-be black-marketeers—but this does not mean every surplus dollar. The economy can withstand a measure of pressure and, moreover, many of these surplus dollars are voluntarily immobilized in non-liquid savings, such as war bonds, life insurance premiums, mortgage repayments.

It is the liquid form of savings, such as cash hoarding and bank deposits, which can spill over and overflow the dam erected by price control and rationing. The prime pillars for stabilizing living costs remain, of course, vigorous price control and effective rationing. But these should be buttressed and reinforced by substantial immobilizations of liquid surplus dollars.

The question remains: which individuals own the excess dollars? The September issue of the *Survey of Current Business*, official publication of the Department of Commerce, presents the following figures on the disposition of the so-called "inflation gap" for 1942.

Income payments to individuals	$115.5
Less personal taxes and non-tax payments	6.6
Disposable income of individuals	108.9
Less consumer expenditures at Jan 1, 1943, prices	78.2
Gross inflation gap	30.7

Disposition of inflation gap:

Expended in paying higher prices for goods and services	3.8
Saved	26.9

Thus, the "inflation gap" was closed primarily by the large amounts saved by individuals out of their 1942 incomes. It was the money of these individuals, then, which presented the inflationary pressure. Who were these individuals? OPA statistics (*Civilian Spending and Saving, 1941 and 1942*) reveals that 88.1 percent of the aggregate savings by individuals in 1942 was by families and single consumers above the $2,500 income level. This group saved $22.4 billion out of the estimated total of $25.4 billion. (The OPA figures on savings are 1.5 billion lower than those of the Department of Commerce.) If the "gap" must be closed, as the *inflation gap-ists* proclaim, then the incomes of the upper levels must be siphoned off—not those of the low-income groups. A sales tax is, therefore, not justified nor required since it would not draw off the incomes of the large-income recipients, while unnecessarily cutting into the very subsistence of the low-income groups.

The gap would be substantially closed by the enactment of the nine-point program adopted by a united front of the CIO, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, National Farmers Union, NAACP, National Women's Trade Union League, League of Women Shoppers, and National Lawyers Guild. That program calls for increased taxes on the middle and higher incomes, on large estates, and on corporations. In addition to raising substantial revenues, it would siphon off the excess purchasing power of the most dangerously inflationary incomes.

J. R. Wilson.

Underground

The Nazis, and before them the authorities of the ill-famed Weimar Republic, and before that the Kaiser's functionaries wanted these people to be forgotten and liquidated, deprived of their language and nationality. But still they continued their existence—the 250,000 Sorbs or Wends—a Slavic people in the province of Lausitz, half-way between Berlin and the Bohemian frontier.

The Versailles Conference forgot about the Sorbs. Their minority rights were not safeguarded in the Minority Statute of the League of Nations, as were the minority rights of German groups in Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, etc. Even under the republican and Social Democratic governments the fate of the Sorbs was terrible. Their schools were closed, their language societies dissolved.

But the most ruthless denationalization set in when Hitler came to power. Ten thousand Sorb children were sent into Hitler Youth schools in northern and western Germany. Parents had to comply with the order to send the children away, or face concentration camps. The use of the Sorb (Wendish) language was forbidden. Whole villages were forcibly cleared of inhabitants and given over to German settlers brought from Bukovina and from Yugoslavia into the greater German Reich. The old inhabitants were shipped to Poland and to the Baltic.

The Nazis, however, did not completely succeed in breaking the life of that small Slavic nation. Recent underground reports from Germany, reaching neutral journalists in Zurich, Switzerland, tell of Gestapo campaigns to "weed out organized sabotage of workers of Wendish [Sorb] nationality." It was reported that these workers had helped war prisoners of Slavic nationality, mostly Russian, Sorbian, and Polish, to escape. They also tried to establish contact with the large bodies of Czech, Slovak, Croatian, and Polish labor sent to the armament factories of the Reich. In the industrial town of Mittenwalde, a whole Sorb sabotage organization was discovered. Several of its members were sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment at hard labor, two were executed, and many were sent to labor camps in distant regions.

The Gestapo—so the neutral reporters said—was alarmed by the "all-Slav aspect of these sabotage activities, and tried to trace all possible threads leading to underground organizations in the neighboring Slav territories." Leaflets in Sorb appeared in the whole region of the Spreewald where there had not been any Sorb printed matter for a number of years. "There can be no doubt," concludes the Zurich report, "that the successes of the Russian armies and the Yugoslav Partisans have deeply stirred even so dormant a nation as the Wends."

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READERS' FORUM

Cooperation With Communists

TO NEW MASSES: In the first installment of the discussion, "Can Communists and Non-Communist Cooperate" between Max Lerner and A. B. Magil, I was impressed by the fairness and moderation of Mr. Magil's presentation of the Communist side and by the unfairness and immoderation of Dr. Lerner's reply. In the continuance of the discussion, entitled, "Unity with the Communists," by Dr. Meiklejohn and Mr. Browder, my judgment is reversed.

While "I yield to no one" in respect for Mr. Browder and his principles, and the principles of his party, I think that in replying to Dr. Meiklejohn he failed to realize that Dr. Meiklejohn, a respecter of the Communist Party, was presenting criticisms of that party which his own contact with an important element of American life had taught him were current.

It is possible that, as Dr. Meiklejohn suggests, the current criticisms of the Communist Party are unjustified. Unhappily, mere proof that this is so will not affect the fact on which the articles in the NEW MASSES are premised: that a lot of worth-while people whose aims do not run counter to the aims of the Communist Party don't like the Party.

I do not love thee, Dr. Fell;
The reason why I cannot tell;
But this I know, and know full well:
I do not love thee, Dr. Fell.

Here is a statement of fact that no amount of self-justification on the part of Dr. Fell can possibly affect. It is possible that Dale Carnegie could have done something about the doctor. We doubt it. But it is certain that the Communist Party, with its broad membership in the finest, truest, warmest hearted and most intelligent element of American life—labor—can do something about itself.

I believe that, without any compromise of Party principles, the Party membership, roused to the need of working even better, let's say, with other people, could imbue its leadership and the official policies that guide that leadership with more of that great human warmth and understanding which is characteristic in general of people who are devoting their lives to a great cause.

ROCKWELL KENT.

Ausable Forks, N. Y.

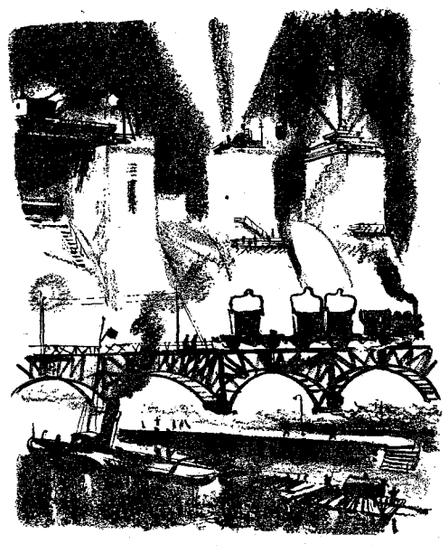
TO NEW MASSES: Earl Browder is to my mind a great man and the leading social scientist in America. Yet it is equally clear that his answer to Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn's letter in your issue of October 19 was below par if not evasive.

Dr. Meiklejohn had brought up the crucial point that stands in the way of complete cooperation between Communists and liberals: the "war mentality" of Communists based on the Marxian concept of the class struggle which must end in a revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, including its liberals, and the creation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the circumstances, says Meiklejohn, liberals feel that cooperation with the Communists has a different significance from cooperation with any other group; it means "being used" for a purpose that will be directed against them as soon as it is achieved, for the bourgeois liberal is potentially an enemy rather than a friend, from the Communist viewpoint.

This is of course the identical issue that liberals raised so often in France and Spain in the era of the united fronts. Communists must have had lots of experience handling it. There is a good answer to it, but Mr. Browder does not give this answer. Instead, he discusses the "war mentality" of Communists from the viewpoint of their efforts to head off the present war through collective security, etc. Of course this was not what Dr. Meiklejohn meant, and Mr. Browder knew he didn't mean it; so what is the point of dragging *that* in?

Mr. Browder then insists that the Communists' only object is to fight for victory, for a peaceful world, and for the broadest democracy. Apparently a liberal program, for there is no mention of socialism, let alone the revolution. And he ends on a note of thinly veiled irritation: "That is the only important thing and we are not going to waste time talking about non-essentials any further."

Okay. Don't waste time talking about these things which deeply agitate the liberals for whom the doctor speaks, and which are crucial to them, although "non-essential" to Communists. Then you won't get your united front—with them, at any rate. Is it a waste of time to try to build a united front? Clearly not, in the opinion of Browder and NEW MASSES. Well, perhaps Dr. Meiklejohn and his group are not sincere anyway and are interested only in attacking the Communists? But Browder himself answered this point when he stated, referring to Dr. Meiklejohn's letter: "I find no trace of ulterior motive but only an honest attempt to find his way through the confusions of the day." What then? Will Communists help them find their way by refusing irritably to discuss "non-essentials?"



What is the truthful answer to the problem raised by the doctor? It is this: "Yes, we are Communists. We stand for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We still repeat, in the words of the Communist Manifesto of 1848: 'We Communists disdain to conceal our aims.' These are our aims. Yet we offer our hand to you sincerely and ask for a united front. Why? Because we need you and you need us and you know from experience how dependable and self-sacrificing we are. You are afraid it is a trick; that we are using you for an ulterior motive, to weaken and then crush you with a *coup d'etat?* But you forget one thing: it is a cardinal tenet of Communist philosophy that socialism cannot be established in a country that is not ready for it and one of the prime conditions is the acceptance of socialism by the great majority of the working people. Democracy gives us the right to compete for the favor of the people. We intend to use this right as before. Let the people decide which program they wish: the liberal or the socialist. This, however, is for the future.

"Meanwhile, we have to win the war and also the peace. On this, we both agree; this is a life-or-death matter for you as well as us. Come, time is short; let us get together on these issues. The future? If you are a staunch believer in your program, as you claim, what is there to worry about? You will lick us, hands down, in the race for popular favor. If you are afraid, that shows you do not trust democracy, you do not trust yourself or your own program. Come, here is our hand. *We* are not afraid. Why should you be?"

Meet the liberals honestly and without evasion! Communists will attract more recruits to a united front this way than by pretending that crucial differences do not exist or by refusing to discuss issues that agitate honest liberals on the specious ground that they are "non-essential."

PHILIP POLLACK.

New York.

TO NEW MASSES: Re the collaboration of Communists with other groups: In reading Dr. Meiklejohn's remarks I was really surprised that he could urge the Communists to work with others sometimes and not to expect others to do all the collaborating. I had thought that the Communists had at times withdrawn their own candidates in order that a liberal of another party might have a better chance of winning, and if that isn't working with others I do not understand the meaning. Perhaps this is not the kind of collaboration the doctor wants.

After the strong and curious answer of Mr. Browder I am convinced that all the weight of the argument is with Mr. Browder. However, I wish we might have an answer by Dr. Meiklejohn to the reasoning of comments.

DON D. STURGIS.

Annapolis, Md.

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RECENT BOOKS

Countess Waldeck draws a Blank. . . . Godfathers, ghosts, Gorgon, and Barnaby. . . . "Airborne Invasion" and "One of Our Pilots Is Safe."

MEET MR. BLANK, *by Countess R. G. Waldeck. Putnam's. $2.50.*

"MEET MR. BLANK" pretends to be a "controversial book" on "Mr. Blank, the man with whom we will make peace and who will be the leader of tomorrow's Germans." In 1918 the Allies' great mistake was that they made peace with the wrong Germans, argues Countess Waldeck. And those wrong Germans could not make the peace palatable to the German people. Now we have to make peace with one man or group of men who will be able to make the Germans accept the peace and like it. "Nothing that has happened in the last ten years can justify the belief," says Countess Waldeck, "that the legend of 'other' or 'better' Germans who will emerge from the war untouched by Hitlerism" is true. And so the author surveys the possible choices of the Mr. Blank with whom the Allies should make peace.

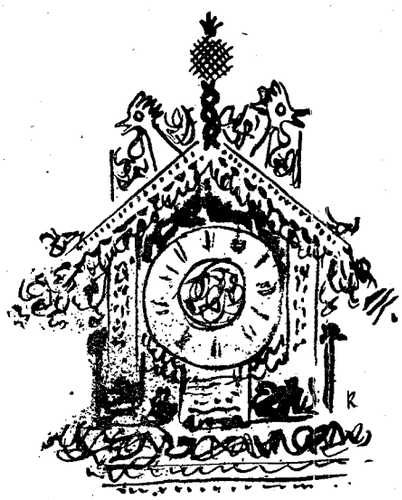
A very trying task indeed. And the manner in which Countess Waldeck solves the problem deserves the full attention of those who want this war to be won and who combat appeasement and fifth column policies in whatever disguise or form. For *Meet Mr. Blank* is nothing but subtly camouflaged propaganda for a deal with the most reactionary forces in Germany, coupled with a cleverly disguised drive to split the Allies.

But before reviewing the book let's take a look at the author, not for the sake of sensationalism but because the author's background explains much about her views and purposes.

Countess Waldeck is by no means a Lady Blank. Hers is a colorful career, worthy of a pulp novel. There was no aristocratic crown shining on little Rosi's cradle when she was born in the Rhine city of Mannheim in the house of the Jewish banker Goldschmidt. An ambitious child, young Rosi first wed a famous physician. Later—having become a journalist under the name of Graefenberg—she married the head of the giant Ullstein publishing house. This second marriage ended in divorce after a monster scandal, half hushed up but not sufficiently to prevent glimpses of Rosi's strange connections with foreign agents, secret telephone tappers, and other miscellaneous gentlemen of the same kind. This did not prevent her marriage to Councilor von Waldeck of the *Reichsaussenamt* (Foreign Ministry of the Reich), a man who turned out to be completely Nazi.

Her third husband, having provided Rosi with the title of countess, was scrapped too, but there must have remained some nice connections with the Ribbentrop-Himmler-Hitler gang—for in spite of her decidedly non-Aryan descent, Countess Rosi was *persona gratissima* in the capital of the Third Reich, and was allowed to stay in Nazi-occupied Bucharest with the benevolent consent of the Reichswehr and the Gestapo. When Rosi published a book about her experiences in Bucharest (*Athenee Palace*) the New York *Herald Tribune's* reviewer asked quite rightly how it happened that the American authorities did not investigate Countess Waldeck's unhampered strolling about a Nazi-occupied city.

Even in America the countess—a naturalized citizen—still has connections with Ribbentrop's old friends. One of her present pals from earlier days is Paul Scheffer, who is said to have contributed much of his knowledge of details to the countess' present book. Paul Scheffer is no Mr. Blank, either. He was for years the chief correspondent of the liberal *Berliner Tageblatt* in Moscow. He lost his job somewhat abruptly because his wife—a White Russian—was entangled in a decidedly non-journalistic enterprise. His name turned up in the Moscow trials against Nazi saboteurs and spies and, after Hitler's ascent to power, Scheffer continued to serve on the *Berliner Tageblatt*, which became a full fledged Nazi organ. He came to this country as a correspondent for Nazi papers, and it is common knowledge today that all Nazi correspondents abroad were selected and directed by Ribbentrop and Goebbels and used as informants, propagandists, etc. After Pearl Harbor Mr. Scheffer missed the exchange boat taking Nazi diplomats and correspondents to Germany. He remained in this country, enjoying a nice life in a Park Avenue apartment. Now, of course, he again wears his old and somewhat motheaten democratic coat, posing as a liberal and even as an anti-Nazi, but this "change of mind" is about as trustworthy as a Hitler communique. Admirers of Mr. Scheffer's precious prose have by no means forgotten that his principal job was to make western readers believe that Nazism could not be so bad after all when people like cultured, liberal-minded Paul Scheffer or Paris-enchanted Friedrich Sieburg (now chief of Nazi espionage in Lisbon) worked for it.



THERE is every evidence that one of the Nazis' remaining hopes is based on the belief that it will be possible to discredit the Soviet Union in the English-speaking countries. Propaganda to achieve this goal is very diverse—ranging from the coarsest lie to the most subtle mixture of legend and half-truth. The Nazis are also trying to prepare a political *Auffangestellung* (position for a come-back)—as did the reactionary forces among the untouched imperial officers corps, the Junkers, and the Krupp gang, in 1918. It is in their interest to encourage such plans as that published by Kingsbury Smith in the *American Mercury*, declaring that a German revolution must be prevented at all costs.

If there are no written instructions from Ribbentrop and Goebbels to this effect there is certainly such a policy. And it is very strange indeed to find an American book published in 1943 driving home exactly those points the Nazis want emphasized.

What is the essence of the Countess Waldeck's book? That a member of the bloody and discredited Hohenzollern family, Prince Louis Ferdinand, "might become an asset to the postwar world." One of Hitler's most devoted generals, a man of the Nazi Party, Marshal Rommel,

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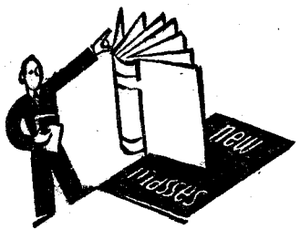

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is given a fifty-fifty approval. "Would Rommel or one of his colleagues make a good Mr. Blank? I can only say: yes and no." But the "yes" sounds much more genuine after you have read the nice little Goebbels-fabricated anecdotes about dear foxy Rommel. That murderous beast Goering becomes a sort of good-humored Fatty in our countess' description. Schacht, of course, is one of the possible good Messrs. Blank. Bruening, the man who paved the way for Hitler, gets high praise. And so does Otto Meissner, a veritable political chameleon who served under Ebert, Hindenburg, and Hitler, turning from ardent Social Democrat to ardent monarchist to ardent Nazi.

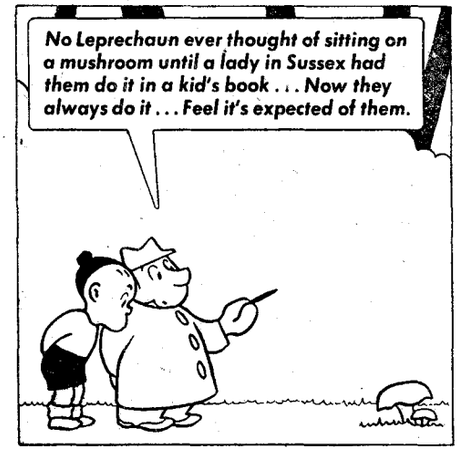
Interspersed with the recommendation of war criminals and Nazi gangsters as the best possible partners for a peace are constant allusions and slanders distorting the role of the Soviet Union, the German Communists, and the German Left as a whole. The obscure countess dares to call world-famous writers like Johannes Becher and Friedrich Wolf, and members of the Reichstag such as Wilhelm Pieck, "obscure Communists." Her description of the role played by the labor movement in pre-Hitler Germany is partly ridiculous and partly preposterous. To quote only one example of an outright lie: Countess Waldeck asserts that "the famous Red Guard was so unorganized that when it had to stand against the forces of the SA and SS, it could not be mobilized." Actually, the *Rote Front Kaempferbund*, the anti-Nazi defense organization, was driven underground and persecuted by Minister Severing and his Social Democratic colleagues, who did nothing to disband the armed Nazi formations. More than 40,000 members of the *Rote Front Kaempferbund* were murdered by the Nazis or put into concentration camps for their heroic struggle against the Third Reich.

Even more repellent are Countess Waldeck's attempts to picture the German Communists as something like allies or relatives of the Nazis. It is a true Goebbels' trick to invent the legend that the pimp Horst Wessel, bloody hero of the Nazi underworld, "had his good points" with the German Communists. All these assertions are made in order to stress the point that the Nazis themselves might choose to start a Communist revolution in order to save the "Nazi revolution" in a "proletarian disguise."

OF COURSE, Countess Waldeck dresses up her Goebbels' dish with invectives directed against Hitler and with some crocodile tears about the "misdeeds of the little Hitlers in Germany and occupied Europe." But you have only to reread those glowing and charming portraits of the Nazi officers in *Athenee Palace* to get the record straight.

The publishers print on the back flap of the book's jacket an excerpt from a review: "Countess Waldeck takes current history out of the funeral parlor." Agreed. But where does she take it? My guess is: into the morgue. Or is it a *maison de rendezvous?* Or a combination of both, namely the parlor of the *Reichspropagandaministerium?*

F. B. TRENT.


No Leprechaun ever thought of sitting on a mushroom until a lady in Sussex had them do it in a kid's book . . . Now they always do it . . . Feel it's expected of them.

With Pink Wings

BARNABY, *by Crockett Johnson. Holt. $2.*

IT'S silly to try to "review" a book like this. Crockett Johnson's already famous comic strip was made for enjoyment, not serious analysis. Only one attempt, so far as I know, has been made—by Max Lerner in *PM*—to explain the underlying "meaning" of the strip in philosophical terms and endow its leading character, Mr. O'Malley, with the pathetic attributes of Little Everyman. Cushlamochree! Since when do we have to go at good clean fun with a surgical saw and microscope before permitting ourselves a laugh?

A reviewer, however, does have the duty of bringing the adventures of little Barnaby and his fairy godfather to the attention of readers unfortunate enough to have missed them so far. First of all it should be stated that "Barnaby" is not whimsy-flimsy for the kiddies—fairy godfathers, ghosts, leprechauns, and talking dogs notwithstanding. The fact that children cry for it does not weaken that truth; it only goes to show that the infant mind is saner and tougher than that of many nursery guardians. It may even be that only the infant mind, fed on the sugar-water and blood of Grimm's tales, can fully appreciate the relief of a fairy godfather like Jackeen J. O'Malley, Esq. Mr. O'Malley, in case you haven't met him, wears pink wings, uses a cigar for a wand, and belongs to an organization called the Elves, Leprechauns, Gnomes, and Little Men's Chowder and Marching Society. Maybe that will give you an idea. Of course it doesn't describe Mr. O'Malley's exquisite assurance, his windbag pomposity, or uninhibited appreciation of the mortal pleasures to be found in other people's iceboxes—to say nothing of other people's

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ideas and anecdotes. Mr. O'Malley is an incorrigible blunderer but his blunders create more chaos in the human world than in his. And that's all to the good; for you will stake O'Malley against the mortals anytime. Personally, I'm willing to go on record: I *love* Mr. O'Malley.

Nor could I do without his supporting cast. There is, for example, Gus the Ghost, who worries over his laundry bills and is terrified by apparitions; Gorgon the talking dog who makes a pest of himself telling Shaggy Dog stories; and the nasty little leprechaun, McSnoyd, who promises O'Malley to show him where "tons and tons of gold" are hidden, leading him all the way to Fort Knox. On the human side we have Barnaby himself, a pleasantly precocious child, slightly bewildered but trustful where his fairy godfather is concerned; his smugly unimaginative parents who *know* there's no such thing as a little man with pink wings; plus an assortment of ordinary citizens, gangsters, and strictly-for-cash politicians.

Barnaby started running in the Marshall Field papers over a year ago and the predictions then were that it would never be "popular": it was too subtle, too different from the usual comic strip, even too artistic. Well, maybe it was, but evidently the public can take it—and like it. As for the artistry, I wish I knew more about such things instead of simply giving a layman's impression. Which is that the drawing is beautifully clear and simple, the figures are human and familiar yet unique in individual character, and it's a wonder how Mr. Johnson can get so much variety of real expression in a face that is drawn in about three strokes of the pen. Oh, well—readers of the strip will know what I'm talking about. Those who haven't read it should find out for themselves.

BARBARA GILES.

Reportage, Limited View

AIRBORNE INVASION, *by John Hetherington. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. $2.50.*

ONE OF OUR PILOTS IS SAFE, *by Squadron Leader William Simpson, D.F.C. Harper. $2.50.*

CLOSE-UP and carefully factual reports of individual sectors of the world front constitute a major and readable portion of today's literature, building up piece by piece our picture of the whole war. *Airborne Invasion*, John Hetherington's account of the Nazi invasion of Crete, is a somewat uneven journalistic compilation but it presents important partial data for the record and slips into potboiler romanticism only in a few unbelievable character portraits—such as the major-general with a body "hewn out of the trunk of an oak tree" who treads "lightly as a swordsman," and General Wavell, who "never falters" on page 24 but is "hesitant" on page 25.

When he comes to interpret his data, Hetherington's worship ot the commanding officers limits his critical comment to the failures of supply, although his account itself reveals major failures of organization. The invasion of Crete proved, according to this book, that airborne invasion alone is too costly in men and equipment to succeed —except against a force very poorly equipped and organized, such as the defenders of Crete, many of whom had only their bare hands to fight with.

The unfaltering Wavell had not arranged to prepare in advance certain natural inland airfields; there was almost no overland transport on the island; a Commando relief attack was made two days too late; in short, the author considers that the "seriousness" of the situation was not realized soon enough. He rates it as probable that Crete would not have fallen if a certain engineer's advice had been followed —to dynamite the Maleme airfield before the Luftwaffe seized it.

Thus the battle of Crete not only slowed Hitler's timetable at a crucial hour. It told him he couldn't invade England by air.

Hetherington's blind side is also that of the British organizers of Crete's defense. It reveals a total inability—at that point—to realize the military potentials of a people's war. Lacking radio transmitters, the several groupings of defenders, some thirty to forty miles apart, were completely out of communication with each other as soon as paratroops had cut telephone wires in the first few hours. "The defenders at Retimo and Herakleon did not know that the paratroop attacks had begun on the western end of the island. . . . They heard it first in a news broadcast from London" the next noon. Yet Hetherington, casually mentioning the activities of native Cretans after the British withdrew, notes that the native guerrillas were never surprised by Nazi raids—because they used a primitive but swift and effective system of cross-country signaling. It didn't occur to the author or to the British officers, apparently, that here was their missing radio equipment. Likewise the decision of one British corps to "take to the hills" is purely the whim of one commander; their neighboring corps is ordered to surrender passively to the Nazis. Nor is any effort made to organize for resistance the thousands that have to be left behind at the last.

"ONE OF OUR PILOTS IS SAFE" is the autobiographical account of an RAF pilot who was caught in the blaze of his crashed plane during the first days of war. With both hands and most of his face and side burned horribly, Simpson's wretched body was moved from hospital to hospital as the Germans advanced. Finally reaching England after two precarious years—there wasn't enough *food* in France to put health into patients' bodies—he dictated this brave and somewhat impersonal personal story.

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a strong compulsion to tell of the humanity and anti-fascist courage of the French people, and to urge upon us all the great necessity of working and fighting harder and faster. To this reader the slowness with which Simpson's charred body is given proper care is symbolic of the painful slowness with which some of us "back home" are meeting the necessity to destroy fascism and heal its havoc.

When the author leaves reporting for commentary, he reveals a surprising naivete. Petain seems to him a kind old man doing the right thing for his people in a sad time; seeing a gutted church in Spain, he tells us flatly that the Reds tried to burn down all the churches; happy to reach Portugal, he concludes that Salazar's bloody fascist regime is a "benevolent dictatorship."

Fortunately there is a minimum of editorial effort. Simpson's account of the wretched living and eating conditions under Axis and Vichy rule is realistic and unadorned. Yet even while increasing our knowledge of the invaded peoples' sufferingsJ and the bravery of United Nations fighters, Squadron Leader Simpson unwittingly illuminates the great need of such fighters as himself for a fuller understanding of the forces they are fighting.

TOBIAS SWIFT.

Reunion in Moscow

(*Continued from page 7*)

more) that would have been a great comfort to the President's enemies within and without the country. But having amended the resolution, the Senate has now to apply it through specific acts in its day-to-day business. That, after all, will be the critical test of its real intentions in working for a stable foreign policy.

We have taken firm steps toward a coalition program. The opposition has for the moment lost its fullest powers of speech and conspiracy. But only for the moment. The battle, with the new tactics the enemies of coalition are sure to devise, will be as intense and bitter as ever. Let no one think that progress has won a permanent victory. Mr. Wheeler, his associates among the Hearst, Patterson, McCormick junta, and even among some in the Senate who endorsed the Connally resolution, wait only for the favorable moment to stir prejudices, to malign our Allies, to tear to shreds what we have gained at the cost of so much blood and suffering. Their answer will have to be even greater unity around the President and a military audacity that will shorten this final round with the enemies of mankind.

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"THE NORTH STAR"

Lillian Hellman's memorable screen classic. "Hollywood has inspired the American film audience to breathe an additional 'aye' to our nation's coalition with Britain and the Soviet Union."

MR. SAMUEL GOLDWYN, producer of Lillian Hellman's and director Lewis Milestone's masterful *The North Star,* has gone to great lengths to inform all and sundry that the film in question is utterly without propagandistic taint. And we are pleased to take him at his word. The film is truth, truth that had already been documented for us a thousand times over. No, Mr. Goldwyn will not find himself in difficulties with this department. We're always ready to settle for truth, particularly when it is as bravely and eloquently projected as in *The North Star.*

North Star comes in a great hour for the anti-fascist peoples of the world. The Moscow conference is only yesterday's news. On the morrow, you might say, Hollywood, with this fine work, has inspired the American film audience to breathe an additional "aye" to our nation's coalition, in war and peace, with the Soviet Union and Britain. The responsibility of film makers to honor and further cement the coalition is a grave and a noble one. *The North Star* is happy augury.

In our opinion, any review that failed to mark with especial distinction the primacy of Miss Hellman's contribution to *The North Star* would be sadly unbalanced. We find her here at the peak of her emotional powers. Once Hellman is astride the demon of her genius nothing can withstand her. In scene after scene—the death of Boris and the pledge of his sons Damian and Kolya at their father's rude, sacred grave; the gunning of Sophia's daughter, Olga; the terrified, blinded Damian groping through the impenetrable darkness for his comrade Clavdia, already dead; the blood-letting of the village children by the Wehrmacht medical men; Dr. Kurin's slaying of Von Harden—time after time we are reminded of our good fortune to have this writer in our midst.

IT IS not our intention to derogate for a moment from the splendid body of skills—acting and directorial—that has brought film realization to Miss Hellman's words. Milestone again manifests the mastery of the medium that made *Of Mice and Men* a memorable screen classic. A large and uniformly first-rate cast—there are twenty-five speaking parts—helps no end.

The plan of the film is simplicity itself. For setting, Miss Hellman has chosen a small village collective, the North Star by name. It lies close to the Bessarabian border. The time is June 20, 1941. It is a happy land we see. Toil has been long but the crop good; prize specimens crowd the piggeries. This is the time of the year that all farm folk celebrate. And the young ones too, for the school term is over. Let us listen to Iakin, the schoolmaster, as he addresses his young charges: "It is not my custom to start your vacation with a lecture, but this is the summer of 1941—a solemn time. No one of us knows what will happen. I don't have to remind you that we are people with a noble history. You are expected to carry on that history with complete devotion and self-sacrifice. I think you will do that. And now—have a happy summer."

Then, without warning, from the peaceful skies the Nazis strike, and horror in battle-green descends on the village. The people divide into two groups "each to do his duty from this day until death. The able-bodied men are to come forward. . . . We will move from the village to the hills and take our place as guerrillas . . . the second group have the harder job. They must stay behind. . . . For this job, you will volunteer. It is you who may have to . . . live with the Germans." This comes to pass.

Later, learning that the Germans have levied the blood of the village children to restore Hitler's wounded beasts to the battlefield, the guerrillas return. Their vengeance is complete extermination of the occupying force. United, the villagers take the road that leads to the interior. Marina, beloved of Damian, speaks the final words of the film: "None of us will be the same. Wars do not leave people as they were. All people will learn that, and come to see that wars do not have to be. We will makes this the last war; we will make a free world for all men. 'The earth belongs to us, the people,' if we fight for it. And we will fight for it!"

Marina, Damian, Grisha, and Karp prepare to become guerrillas in "The North Star."

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"THE NORTH STAR" is not without shortcomings. There is some validity in the objection that the first section of the film—life before the invasion—is top-heavy, over-long in relation to the remainder; another, that again the first section has been overloaded with music (Aaron Copland's), excellent though it be; that although the film makes brilliantly clear to Americans that their Russian allies are folks like themselves, who bask in the fullness of harvest, laugh, love, prize liberty above all other possessions, it fails to give sufficient insight into those essentials which differentiate Soviet life from ours. To the majority of these criticisms we can make the categoric reply that had Mr. Goldwyn seen fit to adhere completely to Miss Hellman's script, all would have been well. Elements that now seem unbalanced were not so in her original. You may read it for yourself in the Viking Press edition. To our mind, Miss Hellman's chief, if not only, error has been her choice of dramatic expedient—the inexplicable release of Doctor Kuprin after his attempt on the life of a Nazi surgeon—on which so much of the film's solution hangs. But I am straining at gnats. The over-all achievement of *The North Star* is great cause for rejoicing.

Mr. Goldwyn's omissions—they can only have been his—deserve a few words. Somewhere we have read a press release to the effect that in *The North Star* Goldwyn aimed at attaining "universal" application—Man, in capital letters, versus Oppression. The implication in his reasoning was obviously "the less specific, that is Russian and Soviet, the more, the universal."

But apart from flouting all sound esthetic process, this is pure rationalization. The truth of the matter appears to me to be either that Mr. Goldwyn was wary of offending certain appeasing gentry or that he believed the American public at large unprepared for a completely detailed representation of the USSR. If it was the former of the two reasons, his protestations have fallen on deaf ears. Sir Hearst, for one, has already made up his hirelings' minds. The Hearst hooligans are splashing about in their tubs of paint, the better to smear *North Star*. If the latter reason, we must insist that Goldwyn has erred. Americans will welcome the fullest reportage on their ally's ways. Mistakes apart, however, I sincerely congratulate Mr. Goldwyn on his latest, and in many respects his most distinguished effort. I am fully confident that the American film audience will protect his investment.

DANIEL PRENTISS.

Yiddish Art Theater

THE FAMILY CARNOVSKY, *by I. J. Singer, produced by the Yiddish Art Theater. Directed by Maurice Schwartz.*

THE Yiddish Art Theater, that highly creative organization which has contributed so much to the cultural life of the Jewish people in both continents of the Americas, celebrates its twenty-fifth anniversary with a new drama by I. J. Singer, author of *Yashe Kalb* and *Brothers Ashkenazi. The Family Carnovsky* is a serious play, it is ably directed and well acted, it is often entertaining and sometimes moving, it is certainly anti-Nazi—and it is woefully behind the times. It is the sort of play we saw on the English stage in 1934 depicting a middle-class Jewish family with one parent Gentile, caught in the toils of the victorious Hitlerites. In all these plays as in the present one under discussion, Nazism had no class origin; it exercised terror only against the Jews, and it had no distinctly discernible attitude toward the welfare of the rest of the world. Singer does include a scene in which Bundists are shown at a meeting somewhere on Long Island, but it has no dramatic meaning, is again limited to an expression of anti-Semitism, and is dragged in only to provide Maurice Schwartz a fustian opportunity to take personal vengeance on a Nazi schoolmaster. Moreover, the play is outdone by time because, while we are shown the Nazi terror occupied in stripping a boy of his clothing and permitting, at a price, the escape of some well-to-do families to the United States, we are only too dreadfully aware that the Nazis have slaughtered over three million Jews by hanging, by shooting, by gas, and by starvation. We are aware that they have thus far caused the deaths of fifteen to twenty millions of soldiers and civilians. We are aware that their bestiality is directed toward an even larger slaughter and finally the enslavement of all mankind.

Singer has not only set up the conflict as between the Nazis and the Jews, he has kept it there and so indicated that it can only be resolved between these two forces. Nowhere do we see that the Nazis have aroused worldwide fear of and resistance to their acts and intentions. It is therefore within the logic of his play that the author brings it to a conclusion with the individual and socially isolated vengeance killing of a Nazi. The audience enjoys the killing, but that is not due to the power of the dramatic moment on the stage. It is due to the fact that the audience knows the record of the foe beyond the author's description; it knows it in all its anti-human horror; and it believes every Nazi killed is

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a victory for the human race. The only clear point the play makes is that Jews cannot hope to escape anti-Semitism by marrying Gentiles and that theory is a very dead dog indeed. Beyond this negative expression, the play has in it no hope for the Jews or for the rest of the world.

Having made this estimate, and most regretfully, let me add that the play is nevertheless worth seeing. While the English theater is at the moment committing its limited stages to tawdry, imbecilic spectacles which seek practically to deny the significance of the armed men in its audience, the Yiddish Art Theater salutes and honors the absorption of its own audience in the paramount condition of our time. *The Family Carnovsky* might have been more worthy of its theme, but it is still sufficiently pertinent to the interests of the Jewish people to merit a visit.

HARRY TAYLOR.

Czech Concert

IN CONNECTION with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Czechoslovak republic the Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of Artur Rodzinski, gave a concert (which was repeated twice) devoted to Czechslovakian compositions. Unfortunately I attended the third performance where for some mysterious inartistic reason the Dvorak Piano Concerto was omitted and the Beethoven Concerto No. 4 substituted. Since this was placed in the middle of the program, it disrupted the national Bohemian atmosphere that should have been created. Moreover, the concerto was played by Leonard Shure without the rhythmic tenseness and emotional intensity that characterizes Beethoven and was accompanied by Rodzinski in an indifferent sort of way.

The most interesting part of the program was the Smetana String Quartet No. 1, arranged for orchestra with much color and sensitivity by George Szell who really should have conducted the work. The opening "Memorial to Lidice" by Martinu was dignified but not outstanding. The concluding number, the symphonic poem "Blanik," by Smetana, dealing with the Hussite wars of liberation, has its fine melodic and dramatic movements, but fails to achieve the final climax which one is led to anticipate.

To really present sympathetically the contribution of Czech composers would require a series of programs, not thrown together esoterically but arranged around the development of each of the composers so as to reveal not merely the character and evolution of the individual composer, but show his relation to the folk music. In the case of the Czech composers this folk music is not only the basis of their art but often its very heart.

PAUL ROSAS.

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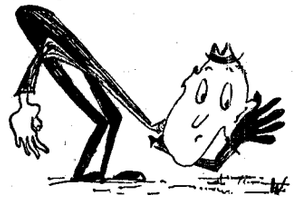

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